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DECEMBER, 1902.

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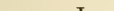
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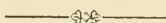
THIRTY-SECOND SESSION, 1902.
VOLUME XXIV.

First Meeting, 8th January, 1902.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

THOMAS CHRISTY, Esq., F.L.S.,

IN THE CHAIR.



The following Donations to the Library were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From F. D. Mocatta :—Elements of the Jewish and Muhammadan Calendars. By the Rev. Sherrard B. Burnaby, M.A., F.R.A.S. London. 8vo. 1901.

From the Author :—Note sur un Nouveau Document Babylonien. Par A. Boissier. Geneva. 8vo. 1901.

From Hartwig Derenbourg :—La Légende Syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'Homme de Dieu. Par Arthur Amiaud. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*. Paris. 1889.

Musée du Louvre Steles de la XII^e Dynastie. Par E. Gayet. Parts 1-3. Paris. 1886-1889. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*.

[No. CLXXIX.]

From the Publishers, Messrs. Methuen and Co.—A Concise dictionary of Egyptian Archæology, a Hand-Book for Students and Travellers. By M. Broderick and A. Anderson Morton. London. 8vo. 1902.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, on February 12th :—

Henry Swainson Cooper, F.S.A., &c., Yewfield, Hawkshead, Lancashire.

F. G. Fleay, 27, Dafforne Road, Upper Tooting, S.W.

H. Löcherbach, Herzogenrath, Germany.

F. W. Lönnbeck, 52, Nybrogatan, Stockholm, Sweden.

The following Notes were read :—

PROF. A. H. SAYCE (President): "The Ionians in the Tell el Amarna Tablets."

Remarks were made by the Rev. Dr. Löwy and Dr. Pinches.

REV. CANON R. B. GIRDLESTONE: "Notes on the Comparative Value of the Two Recensions of Ezra."

Remarks were added by Sir H. H. Howorth, Dr. Gaster, and Dr. Löwy.

Thanks were returned for these communications.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1901.

In presenting the annual report for the past year, I cannot refrain from again referring to the severe loss the Society has suffered by the death, on April the 5th, of MR. JOSEPH JOHN TYLOR, followed on the 15th of May by that of MR. ARTHUR CATES, Vice-President.

When many years ago the Council did me the honour to elect me to the post I now fill, Mr. Cates was the Honorary Secretary, an office he continued to hold, to the advantage of the Society, for some years. Always ready to give every assistance in his power, I felt how great a benefit and relief it was, in those early days, so soon after the foundation of the Society, to have a kind friend of great experience to whom I could apply for help in difficulties, and to whom I knew I should not apply in vain. To his varied knowledge and continued interest we are more indebted than I can easily express; this interest in our proceedings, though the state of his health often prevented his attending the meetings, never ceased, and only a few days before his death I received a letter from him asking for information bearing on a scheme he was thinking out for the advancement of the Society.

I feel that we have lost one of the ablest and most willing of our supporters, and that I have lost one of the kindest of friends.

The number on the roll of Members has, it is true, been fairly maintained, and it is a pleasure to thank those friends who have so kindly obtained the names of new Members. There is still, however much more that might be done, *if a determined effort was made in this direction*. There must be many who would be willing, if only they were asked, to help us to place a greater quantity of material, of a more varied character, in the hands of scholars and students, and at the same time gain the opportunity of reading it themselves. I have many times appealed to the whole body of Members to assist the Society in this manner; I again repeat the appeal, in the hope that by doing so year by year, in the very near future it may produce the desired result.

The Papers read before the Society, and printed in this volume, will be found not inferior in value and interest to those of former years, and the best thanks of the Society are due to the many writers who have thus contributed to the success of our meetings and publications.

In the last report I mentioned that some Papers dealing with subjects more nearly connected with the Bible had been promised ; several of these have appeared in the *Proceedings* during the past year, and the Council will be glad to receive others on similar subjects.

The scheme of widening the operations of the Society is still under consideration, but much has been done by the Council, it is only by the assistance of the Members that it can be fully carried out.

It should be remembered that it is not always necessary to write a Paper, and that any notes occurring during the study of a subject, could find a fitting place in the portion of the *Proceedings* set aside for that purpose, which is of course open to the Members. I need hardly point out that such Notes would be a useful addition to our publications, and be of interest and service to all.

The various Papers and Notes, many of them illustrated, all of them printed in the volume just completed, are as follows; classed as usual under their divisions :—

ARTHUR E. WEIGALL :

- Egyptian Notes, The Sacerdotal Title Gemat ;
- Antiquities in the Museum of the Société Jersaise :
- A Statuette of .Min-Mes, Chief Magician to Rameses II :
- A small Porcelain Naos of Bast (January).

F. LL. GRIFFITH, F.S.A. :

- Notes on Demotic Philology, The Khamuas Stories (January).

JOHN WARD, F.S.A. :

- Notes on his Collection of Scarabs, with plates, continued from Vol. XXII (January, February).

F. G. HILTON PRICE, DIR. S. A. :

- Notes upon a rare Figure of Amen-Ra (January).

F. LEGGE :

- The Demons in the Magic Papyri (February).

F. LL. GRIFFITH, F.S.A. :

- The Chronological value of Egyptian Words found in the Bible (February).

E. TOWRY WHYTE, M.A., F.S.A. :

- An Egyptian Painter's Palette of Wood, illustrated (March).

F. LL. GRIFFITH, F.S.A.

- The Fraser Scarabs (March).

MRS. GRENFELL :

- Note on Scarab No. 384, in Mr. John Ward's Collection (March).

F. W. READ and A. C. BRYANT :

A Mythological Text from Memphis, in the British Museum illustrated (May).

PERCY E. NEWBERRY :

Extracts from my Note Book (*continued*)—

21. Statue of a Fan-bearer of the Body Guard of Amenhetep III
22. The Site of the Library of Akhenaten ;
23. A Priest of Astarte ;
24. Some Egyptian Antiquities in the Dattari Collection, a ring-stand of Sebek Hetep III ; A late Middle Kingdom Statuette ; Pedestal of a Wooden Statuette of the Divine Wife, Neferu.
25. Handle of a model Dagger (?), and a Plaque inscribed with name of Bak-en-Khensu ;
26. Khems, Vezir of Sekhem-ka-Ra ;
27. The Vezir Seniy (May).

GEORGE ST. CLAIR :

Pasht and Sed Festival (May).

DR. JAMES HENRY BREASTED :

The Wady Halfa Stela of Senwosret I (Useratesen), illustrated (May).

DR. JAMES HENRY BREASTED :

Varia, Supplementary to Notes published in the *Proceedings*, Vol. XXII, pp. 90-94 ; Three Obscure Phrases (May).

DR. A. WIEDMANN :

Egyptian Notes (referring to those of A. E. Weigall in the January *Proceedings*) (May).

WILHELM SPIEGELBERG :

Contribution to the second Tale of Khamuas (May).

E. TOWRY WHYTE, M.A., F.S.A. :

Egyptian Gilder's Palette of Wood. Plate (May).

ARTHUR E. WEIGALL :

An inscribed Disk of the XXIInd Dynasty (May).

PROF. DR. A. WIEDMANN :

Bronze Circles and Purification Vessels in Egyptian Temples (June).

WALTER L. NASH, F.S.A. :

The Tomb of Mentuhetep I (?) at Der-el-Bahri, Thebes. Plate (June).

F. LL. GRIFFITH, F.S.A. :

A Sale of Land in the reign of Philopator. Plates (June).

WALTER L. NASH, F.S.A. :

The Tomb of Pa-shedu. Plates (November).

REV. A. J. DELATTRE, S.J. :

Quelques Lettres Assyriennes (continued from Vol. XXII, Part 8) (February).

REV. C. F. BIRKITT :

The Wisdom of the Chaldeans (February).

ALFRED BOISSIER :

Documents Assyriens relatifs à la Magie (March).

THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES :

Assyriological Gleanings, Part II. Plates (May).

ROBERT BROWN, JUNR., F.S.A. :

A Greek Circle of late times showing Euphratean Influence (May).

REV. A. J. DELATTRE, S.J. :

Quelques Lettres Assyriennes (continued from page 71) (November).

REV. W. O. E. OESTERLEY :

The Symbolism of the "Pair of Shoes" (January).

PROF. A. H. SAYCE (*President*) :

Notes on :

1. The Hyksos ;
2. The Hittite Inscriptions ;
3. The Arzawa Letters ;
4. Kandaules of Lydia (March).

JOSEPH OFFORD and E. GILBERT HIGHTON, M.A. :

The "De Duabus Viis," A New Latin Version of the first Six Chapters of the "Didache" (March).

PROF. CANON CHEYNE :

Notes on Gen. iv, 16 ; Isa. xviii, 1 ; and Prov. xxx, 15 (March).

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E. :

Some Unconventional Views on the Text of the Bible, Part I (May) ;
Part II (November).

PROF. A. H. SAYCE (*President*) :

Greek Ostraka from Egypt (May).

JOSEPH OFFORD :

Arza and Aziza ; The Median Calendar ; The Site of Kir of Moab (May).

A. J. BUTLER :

The Identity of "Al Muḡauḡis" of Egypt (June).

E. J. PILCHER :

A Cylinder Seal bearing the Name Gehazi (November).

THE HON. MISS PLUNKET :

The Chinese Calendar, with some references to that of the Chaldeans. (December).

A. E. WEIGALL :

Some Egyptian Weights in Prof. Petrie's collection (December).

Again the Society has to thank Mr. Walter L. Nash, F.S.A., for having, with great care and trouble, taken the photographs required for

the plates which have appeared from time to time in the *Proceedings*. And to him also we have been indebted, as in other years, for adding so much to the completeness of the volumes by compiling the Indexes.

Always ready to help the Society in every way in his power, Mr. Nash has now added to my personal obligations to him by very kindly undertaking to help me in the troublesome work of seeing the *Proceedings* through the press.

I must again refer to the complete Index of the nine volumes of the *Transactions*, prepared by Mr. Nash and presented to the Society. This, as I have stated in several of the Reports, is quite ready to be printed, and would be put in hand at once if sufficient subscribers could be obtained to justify the Council in incurring the expense. It need hardly be pointed out that our *Transactions*, full as they are of most interesting matter, would be of much greater use and value to students if the nine volumes could be completed by a tenth volume containing an Index to the whole series.

A little support from the general body of the Members would secure this publication, and perhaps it is rather a matter of surprise that it is necessary to ask repeatedly for it.

As already mentioned, the Society is greatly indebted to Prof. E. Naville for having so kindly undertaken the completion of Sir P. le Page Renouf's edition of *The Book of the Dead*. I am pleased to be able to state that a number of the remaining chapters are now in type, and the issue of them will be commenced in a future Part of the *Proceedings*. It would have been a subject for lasting regret had this standard edition, the result of the labour of so many years, remained unfinished.

In connection with two of our distinguished Honorary Members, it will be of interest to the Members to know that Prof. Maspero and Prof. Naville have generously consented to act as the Editors of the collected writings of the late Sir P. le Page Renouf. The work of printing has commenced and already a large portion of the first volume is in type, so that it may fairly be expected to appear in the early part of the present year. The first series will contain the writings connected with Egypt and Egyptology, to be followed by another series, including the theological, philosophical, and other contributions to learning: everything written by our late President will be included, as it is the wish of Lady Renouf to publish a work that shall be a fitting monument to the memory of so distinguished a scholar.

During the past year the Council have issued the volume containing an account, with much other valuable information, concerning the unique fragments of very early Hebrew MSS. of the Bible in the collection of Dr. Gaster. The beauty and value of the coloured decorations found in these MSS. cannot be over estimated, and it must be remembered that no

other examples are known to exist. The Council hope that this effort to bring within their reach a work containing such interesting material, as well as a series of plates of the decorations coloured after the originals, will be appreciated by the Members.

The number of kindred Societies with which publications are exchanged has been increased. Many donations of books have also been made by various authors, to whom the best thanks of the Society are due for thus placing their works within the reach of many to whom they may be of real service, and others have been purchased by the Council, but it is to be regretted that the funds at their disposal for this purpose are not sufficient to make the Library as complete as could be wished.

A list of many works especially wanted for the use of the Members has been printed many times at the end of the *Proceedings*. This list is necessarily altered from time to time, owing to the kind responses made by the presentation of some of the books required. It is sincerely to be hoped, for the benefit of those students who use our Library, that those Members who have duplicate copies of those works entered in the list, or others connected with the objects of the Society, will present them, and thus give to students the opportunity and benefit of using them.

The cost of printing the publications is necessarily very great, and it surely ought to be unnecessary for me to point out year after year that, in order that the work may be properly carried out, liberal contributions are to be desired from the Members.

Much inconvenience, and correspondence which should be unnecessary, has been caused by some Members not paying their subscriptions regularly. I must call attention to the notices issued in the *Proceedings* at the end of each year, one of which points out *that the subscriptions are due in advance in January*. I need hardly point out that if subscriptions are not paid regularly, difficulty and trouble occurs as to the amount of money at the disposal of the Council.

The audited Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1901 shows that the funds available for that year have been £555s. 16s., and the expenditure for the same period has been £516 14s. 8d. The balance carried forward from 1900 was £60 13s. 3d., and that from the year just ended is £39 1s. 4d.

A vote of thanks to the Council and Officers of the Society for their services during the past year was unanimously agreed to.

The following Officers and Council for the current year were elected :—

COUNCIL, 1902.

President.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., &c., &c.

Vice-Presidents.

THE MOST REV. HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF NORTHAMPTON.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD HALSBURY.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD AMHERST OF HACKNEY.

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REV. PROF. T. K. CHEYNE, D.D.

THOMAS CHRISTY, F.L.S.

DR. M. GASTER.

DR. J. HALL GLADSTONE, F.R.S.

F. LL. GRIFFITH, F.S.A.

SIR H. H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E.,
F.R.S., &c.

REV. ALBERT LÖWY, LL.D., &c.

REV. JAMES MARSHALL, M.A.

PROF. G. MASPERO.

PROF. E. NAVILLE.

J. POLLARD.

EDWARD B. TYLOR, D.C.L.,
LL.D., F.R.S., &c.

E. TOWRY WHYTE, M.A.,
F.S.A.

Honorary Treasurer.

BERNARD T. BOSANQUET.

Secretary.

W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A.

Hon. Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

F. LEGGE.

Honorary Librarian.

W. HARRY RYLANDS F.S.A. (*pro. tem.*).

THE IONIANS IN THE TEL EL-AMARNA TABLETS,

By Prof. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., &c., &c.

Dr. Knudtzon has contributed to the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, IV, 3, pp. 279-337, a valuable paper of corrections and additions to the published texts of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. He has a remarkable facility in deciphering obliterated or semi-legible characters which have hitherto baffled and perplexed the Assyriologist, and in suggesting restorations of the text. The new edition of the tablets, consequently, which he promises to give us will probably contain copies of the texts as near perfection as possible. But there is one portion of the paper from which I must entirely dissent. It is that in which he discusses my discovery of the name of the Ionians in the tablets and gives another interpretation of it. Let us see what the facts of the case actually are.

In W.A.,* 42, 15-17, we read: *na-ad-nu* AMIL-MES $\times$ ∇ *Si-ir-ma* u AMIL *Yi-i-ma-a-na a-na* MAT *Šu-ri i-na* LU-QI. Dr. Knudtzon adopts my reading of ∇ as *yi*; indeed this reading of the character in certain of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, which I was the first to propose, is now generally accepted. His collation of the original, moreover, has shown that I was right in reading *ma* or *va* where Winckler had *ba*: on the other hand, the *Zu* of the published copy turns out to be *Šu*, so that the country referred to will not be Tyre but Šuri (Šubartî) or Syria.

It might be thought that as Dr. Knudtzon has now adopted my reading of the name which follows the second AMIL "man" he would agree with me in identifying it with Yavan or "Ionian," which it represents letter for letter. Indeed it is a closer reproduction of the Greek word than the *Ya-ma-nu* (*Yavannu*) of the Behistun inscription; still more of the *Ya-am-na-â* (*Yavna*) of Sargon. But the expectation is not fulfilled. Dr. Knudtzon asserts that Rib-Addi, the writer of the letter, has made a mistake and written the preposition *ana* "to" twice. Consequently he translates the passage: "they

* I.e., Winckler and Abel, *Thontafelfund von El-Amarna* (Berlin, Spemann).

have given the Sirma people and the Yiima man to to the land of Suri in pledge (?),” where “Yiima” is doubtless an oversight for “Yîma.”* Official letter-writers, however, were not in the habit of committing blunders like this, and if they were committed the mistake was corrected when the letter was read over before being despatched; at all events the assumption of a blunder in a text of this kind can be admitted only when every other explanation of the passage fails. Here, on the contrary, there is no need to assume a blunder at all; the reading is obvious enough. *Yi-i-ma-a-na* harmonises in form with *Sirma* or *Sirwa*, and the long *a* is required if it represents *ω* or *ao* in Greek.

But Dr. Knudtzon supports his argument by bringing forward what he believes are parallel passages in which the same word occurs without a final nasal. One of these is W.A., 98, 9, where we have, according to Dr. Knudtzon’s present reading, *i-na-an-tsur* 1 AMIL *Yi-u al sarri*, “will one Yiu-man be able to defend the city of the king?” But on the Doctor’s own showing the reading here is extremely doubtful, and may be AMIL *Ni-wi-u* or AMIL *Ni-ju-u*. In any case, even granting that *Yi-u* is correct, there is no reason for identifying it with *Yi-i-ma*. Moreover the writer of the letter is not Rib-Addi but a different person altogether, Abimelech the governor of Tyre.

Dr. Knudtzon’s second instance also comes from a letter of Abimelech, and is more doubtful even than his first. This is on an unpublished fragment at Berlin (1719, 45-48), where the text has LXXX (?) AMIL . . . and AMIL *ut* or *yi* or *tsab* . . . , which Dr. Knudtzon fills up as follows: *Yi-i-ma*! On this principle anything can be made out of anything.

There now remain only two other instances, and as both of these are in a letter of Rib-Addi (W.A., 52, 21, 22, 39-41), they possess a certain amount of weight. In the first passage we have: *u* AMIL (?) . . . [GIS] *narkabati-ka u* AMIL-MES *yi-e* . . . , and in the second: *u* AMIL *yi-a-ti* . . . *ina* MAT *Šu-ba-ri i-na* LU-Q1. Here Dr. Knudtzon supplies *u* AMIL [*sirma* GIS] *narkabati-ka u* AMIL-MES *Yi-e* [*ma la-ku*], and *u* AMIL *Yi-a ti* [*di-nu*], for all which, it need not be

* Dr. Knudtzon has misunderstood my queried translation of the words *ina* LU-Q1 and supposed that I read *i-na-lu-qi* from *alâku*. This would be an impossible form. Of course, my rendering was really based on the assumption that LU-Q1 is a compound ideograph, in which Q1 has its usual signification of “sending on a mission.”

said, there is not the slightest ground. It is all pure conjecture, and in the case of the second passage *yati-[ma]* "myself" would be quite as plausible a restoration as his *yi-a ti-[dinu]*. Baseless conjectures, however, are not the sort of evidence upon which to maintain that the text is wrong in the only place in which it is preserved.

We must, therefore, fall back on the reading *Yi-i-ma-a-na* or *Yi-i-ṭa-a-na*, that is to say on the name "Ionian." It is true that Dr. Knudtson finds a further argument against it in the word *Sirma* with which it is coupled, since the ideograph of which the latter is given as the equivalent seems to indicate that it denotes a class of men rather than a nationality.* But the two words are not in the same category, as *Sirma* is preceded by the plural AMIL-MES "men," while the determinative of *Yivâna* is the singular AMIL. Besides *Sirma* is not necessarily the name of a class. It may be the name of a tribe who acted as mercenaries or policemen, and so, like the Mazai in Egypt, could represent a particular body of men. At any rate the word is neither Assyrian nor Canaanite, so far as we know, and is therefore more probably a proper name than anything else.

Dr. Knudtson's criticism has thus ended only in making it clear that I was right in finding the name of "Ionian" in the Tel el-Amarna tablets. His Yiu, Yia and Yieva are all alike questionable or non-existent. Indeed Yia is the only one for which there is any evidence at all. If it could be proved to have a real existence I should be the first to welcome it, for it would be a further confirmation of my identification of *Yivâna* with "Ionian." Sargon tells us (Khors., 145) that the seven Cypriote kings who paid him tribute came from "the land of Ya', a district of the land of Yânana, which is seven days' journey in the middle of the western sea." Yânana—not Yatnana, as it has been read in forgetfulness of the fact that $\Sigma\Xi$ is *â* as well as *at*—represents the Greek *Ἰώνων*, just as Yavnâ, which is also used by Sargon (W.A.I. I, 36, 21), is the older *Ἰαφ[ο]νέες*, and Ya' will bear the same relation to it that *Ἰάς* bears to *Ἰάονες*. In the time of Sargon the *y* or *jod* had been lost in most of the Greek dialects, and Yia would consequently have become Ia (or in Assyrian Ya'). That the root of *Ἰάονες* is simply *ya* is made clear by the correlative *Ἰά-ς*; the final *-(v)on* is the same suffix as that

* The ideograph is partly obliterated. What remains looks like *ligir*, the Semitic *ragiru* or "Commandant" (of the body-guard).

which we find in Kata-(v)onia or Lyka-(v)onia, the Arkadian Lyka[v]ôn, and suggests that the name is of Asianic and not of Greek origin. In any case Yia in the 'Tel el-Amarna tablets,—if it really exists there—would be the earlier form of the Ya' of Sargon, and both alike represent the 'Iá-s of Greek. The *Ya' nagî* of Sargon would represent a Greek 'Iás χῶρα.

I hope that after this the mention of the "Ionian" name in the tablets of Tel el-Amarna will not again be questioned. It will be observed that it corroborates Dr. W. Max Müller's reading of the name in the hieroglyphic records of Ramses II.



NOTES ON THE COMPARATIVE VALUE OF THE TWO
RECENSIONS OF EZRA.

BY THE REV. CANON R. B. GIRDLESTONE.

In dealing with this problem, the first thing is to secure a firm chronological basis, then to compare the historical outlines given in Ezra, Esdras A and Josephus, respectively, and, lastly, to discuss *minutiæ*, various readings, &c. I will take it for granted that the first thing is done by means of Ptolemy's Canon and confirmatory evidence, and that the second task is before us. I propose to deal with it as connected with the reigns of the Persian kings.

I. The reign of CYRUS. The question here is, Who was "Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah," to whom the vessels were committed, and who "brought them up with them of the captivity from Babylon to Jerusalem" (Ezra i, 8, 11)? In chapter v, 14, we read that Cyrus had made Sheshbazzar Governor (Chald. *Pacha*), and ordered him to take the vessels to the Temple; "and he came and laid the foundation of the house of God." The fact that Zerubbabel heads the list in Ezra ii, 2, the rest being said to go "with" him, is strongly in favour of his being the appointed leader. If so, his Persian official title was *Tirshatha*, his Persian name Sheshbazzar, and his Hebrew name Zerubbabel. I see no reason for calling this name Babylonian instead of Hebrew. It probably means "a stranger in Babylon."

Josephus cites a letter from Cyrus to Tatnai and Shethar-boznai, in which he calls Zerubbabel the Governor of the Jews (Ant., XI, i, 3); though in chapter 4, section 6, he speaks of Sanabassar (Sheshbazzar) Governor and President of Syria and Phœnicia, which cannot be true on any theory.

Esdras A (ii, 12) names Sanabassar as Governor of Judea, and in chapter vi, 18, mentions this name together with Zerubbabel, and in verse 27 calls Zerubbabel definitely the Governor of Judea.

With these materials before us I cannot doubt that Zerubbabel was the Governor of Judea in the reign of Cyrus, and by his appointment; confirmatory evidence may be obtained from Haggai and Zechariah.

II. Cyrus' successor was CAMBYSES; but Ezra and Esdras call him ARTAXERXES, *i.e.*, they assign to a king of the latter name the events which Josephus assigns to Cambyses. At first sight it seems uncritical to suppose that Cambyses can be meant by Artaxerxes; but it was very common for Persian kings to be known by two names. Thus: Astyages "had another name among the Greeks" (Jos., Ant., X, xi, 4); Smerdis was called Spendadates by Ctesias, and Oropastes by Justin; Xerxes I (*i.e.*, Ahasuerus) was also called Cyrus; Darius Nothus was also called Cchus; Artaxerxes II (Mnemon) was also called Arsaces; Ochus was also called Artaxerxes; Arses was also called Arogus. [See Jahn's *Hebrew Commonwealth*, § 55, &c. See also Keil's fair discussion, and his conclusion that Ezra ii, 6-23 is episodical. I doubt if our materials warrant us in drawing any conclusion at present.] I gather from Ezra iv, 5, 6, that efforts were made from the reign of Cyrus to that of Darius to frustrate the purpose of the Jews. Also—even after the time of Darius—a further effort was made in the reign of Xerxes. What this was we are not told, but it may have been concurrent with the animosity of the adversaries in the days of Haman.

III. Cambyses was succeeded by DARIUS, son of Hystaspes. That this is the king referred to, and not Darius Nothus, is clear from the dates. The leaders who were acting in the reign of Cyrus are still acting at the beginning of the reign of Darius, which could not be the case if Darius Nothus was referred to, for in that case they would all have had to go on living and working from 536 to 423. Moreover, Josephus remarks that the delay in the work was only one of nine years, which would take from the beginning of the reign of Cambyses (529) to the second year of Darius Hystaspes (520) *see* Ant., XI, ii, 2.

The only material difference between the canonical Ezra on the one hand and Josephus and Esdras A on the other, is that these last-named authorities consider that Zerubbabel headed a second expedition to Jerusalem at the beginning of Darius' reign when the restrictions were removed, and that it was to this expedition that the list of names contained in Ezra ii belongs. The list certainly

might have got misplaced; but we have the ancient testimony of Nehemiah to the contrary (vii, 5), for he gives the list as that of those who went up "at the first," and the word so rendered (בראשונה) is a very definite one, and could not apply to a second expedition sixteen years after the first.

The fact that such names as Nehemiah and Mordecai were to be found in the list of emigrants is not unnatural. The first of these is derived from the oft-repeated promise that the Lord would comfort his people (*see* Isaiah, xl, 1), while the latter is a Jewish form of Merodach. [Can any serious student imagine that Nehemiah regarded himself as named in the list he copied out (Neh. vii, 7)? or that because he was appointed Tirshatha (Neh. x, 1), therefore he was referred to under the same official title in the extract (vii, 65)?]

I do not share Sir H. Howorth's regret that the story of the three young men, whether in the recension of Esdras or in that of Josephus, is absent from the canonical Ezra. It is clever, but has an apocryphal and somewhat unedifying smack about it.

The subject under discussion does not necessitate reference to the interchange of chronological positions assigned to the three personages Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah, in our three authorities. I would only say there are strong reasons for adhering to the canonical books as against Esdras A and Josephus.

I should like to add that Sir H. Howorth in an *obiter dictum* said that Josephus did not write in Hebrew; but he himself says that he did (Wars, Pref., § 1). Also no reference was made to the interesting discussion on the two recensions of Ezra by Dr. Streane in his *Age of Maccabees* (Fyre and Spottiswoode).

REPLY BY SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH.

I feel some hesitation in criticizing Canon Girdlestone's paper, which is professedly an answer to mine, because I differ *toto cælo* both in regard to its method and its matter, both of which I cannot but describe as obsolete. It begins with a reference to the Canon of Ptolemy as our authority for the history of the Persian kings. That canon is a very useful help, but we have accumulated many other sources of information on the subject during the last century,

and Guttschmid and Nöldeke and Oppert and others have sifted the question of Persian chronology so carefully, that we have got much beyond the point where it is safe to lean on or quote any one authority like the Canon of Ptolemy.

Secondly, Canon Girdlestone argues that some of the Persian kings bore different names. He does this apparently on the ground that that fable-writer Ctesias and that very inaccurate person Justin, more especially the former, give names to some of the Persian sovereigns which differ from those elsewhere recorded, but such evidence is assuredly quite worthless. The official names of the Persian kings are as well known and as well established and as constant as those of the English sovereigns. We have long and detailed contemporary inscriptions of most of them, we also have a great number of cuneiform tablets dating from their reigns. In all these the names are written quite uniformly, and completely confirm the statements of the most reputable Greek historians from Herodotus downwards. It is purely arbitrary and gratuitous for instance to affirm that a great sovereign like Cambyses who was known all over the ancient world by that name, would be called Artaxerxes, or Smerdis be called Xerxes, etc. It would be as inconsequent as calling Canon Girdlestone, Canon Cheyne, or the late Bishop Ryle, Bishop Gore.

Thirdly, among the king's names referred to by Canon Girdlestone are several which we know are not Persian at all. Astyages was a Mede and not a Persian. That might pass, but Cyrus and Cambyses, who were no doubt rulers of Persian, were so by conquest, and not by inheritance. Cyrus was originally the ruler of the Elamite district of Anzan, as he tells us himself in his inscriptions, and I doubt whether he had any Persian blood in him at all, and whether either his name or that of Cambyses are Persian. No doubt it became the fashion afterwards to unite the family of Darius Hystaspis and that of Cyrus by a link a great many generations before, but this seems quite an artificial proceeding, to give prestige to the later dynasty, as I have elsewhere shewn was the case when Alfred was made a descendant of the kings of Wessex instead of the kings of Kent.

Fourthly, Canon Girdlestone says that Tirshatha was the official Persian title of Zerubbabel. This is a most arbitrary and quite unsupported statement. The two books of Ezra and Esdras A are agreed that Tirshatha was the official title, not of Zerubbabel, but of Nehemiah; hence the reason why so many critics of authority

(*inter alios* Lord Arthur Harvey, who was almost orthodox person) argued that the list in Ezra ch. ii is quite misplaced.

Fifthly, he argues that Zerubbabel's Persian name was Shezbazzar, and that his Hebrew name was Zerubbabel. Here again I cannot understand him. Shezbazzar is not a Persian or Iranian name at all. It is a purely Semitic name belonging to another family of human speech altogether from Persian. As to Zerubbabel, it is Semitic no doubt, but it is entirely different in form from Hebrew names, and is quite clearly a Babylonian one, meaning "The seed of Babel." Both Shezbazzar and Zerubbabel are Babylonian names. In paragraph 3 of Canon Girdlestone's letter he refers to paragraphs 2 and 3 of Chapter I of the 11th Book of the Antiquities of Josephus for some statements about Zerubbabel. These statements and paragraphs are not contained in the best MSS. of Josephus. They are contained in fact only in one, and are a palpable forgery, as I stated in my paper. The Canon has evidently not consulted a recent or critical edition of Josephus.

The contradiction pointed out in paragraph 4 of the Canon's letter is fully explained in my paper, which he cannot have read when he wrote his. I show very clearly that the contradictions in question did not exist in the text of Esdras A as originally written and as originally quoted by Josephus.

Jahn and Keil are obsolete authorities in these discussions. Nestle and Driver would be found more profitable reading by the Canon in regard to the particular question. The latter has completely disposed of the episodical theory.

In the latter part of paragraph 6 the Canon takes for granted, quite dogmatically, that the Darius who patronised the building of the Temple was Darius Hystaspis, for which there is no evidence, ignoring the very strong case and the evidence to the contrary I have produced, which he passes by without any reply, and then goes on to suggest that Haman lived in the time of the same king, for which there is less evidence still, and which must seem in fact preposterous to anyone who has studied the reign of that ruler in detail.

Having taken for granted that chapter ii of Ezra refers to the time of Cyrus, in the teeth of all the best critics and of the fact that Nehemiah is mentioned in it, he proceeds to state again that it was Darius Hystaspis in whose reign the temple was built, and then produces what he deems a chronological puzzle. The puzzle

in question is neither in the Bible text nor in my paper, but is entirely one of Canon Girdlestone's own making. His explanation of it is contravened not only by Esdras A but by the plain statements of the Canonical Ezra. Let me present him with a puzzle in return. From the first of Cyrus to the second of Darius Hystaspis (upon whom he pins his faith) is 40 years. During all this time it seems Zerubbabel, according to Canon Girdlestone, was fast asleep, and we read nothing about him and have no records of him. At length, when he had reached a patriarchal age, he began to build the temple, for which he is supposed to have received a special commission from Cyrus, and in doing so he had to appeal to the great king to verify his authority and mission, although he had been Governor of the Jews, Pasha and Nasi or Royal Prince. Can anything be more ridiculous?

He says no serious student would argue that "the Nehemiah" and "the Tirshatha" of Nehemiah vii were the same person as the Nehemiah the Tirshatta of chapter x of Nehemiah. I can only say that I know of no serious student who argues the other way. There is not a tittle of evidence that Tirshatha was a title applied to anyone but Nehemiah who rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem. Zerubbabel was called by other titles. Nor do I know of any evidence for postulating two Nehemiahs except the necessities of an impossible premise.

I cannot accept the Canon's description of the Story of Darius and the three young men as having an "unedifying smack." The phrase is not mine. It is his own. All I can say is it fills a large place in the homiletic teaching of the Early Fathers and of the Mediæval Church, it was in our Prayer Book for 300 years, and it has stirred the heart of many a man and woman. To me and others it was a particularly unedifying fatality when those who had turned their backs on the old Christian Bible, in favour of one re-edited by the Jews, in direct opposition to the Bible of the early Christians, which they once esteemed and afterwards reviled, *i.e.*, the Septuagint, thrust out this story from our Lectionary and also gave us the revised version of the Old Testament based on other than Christian tradition, and, in my view, on a sophisticated text. As to what is edifying opinions may differ. The tale in which men are reminded that "*Magna est veritas et prævalet*," is surely more edifying than those of the three children in Daniel, of Jonah in the whale's belly, and of the sun standing still at Jericho, which

are still taught to our ingenuous children as in some way or other bound up with the eternal verities that underlie the Bible, and are shaking their faith accordingly.

The *obiter dictum* in the penultimate paragraph of the Canon's letter is amusing (as are all bald unsupported assertions), but it does not convey much knowledge.

The Canon, I am afraid, has been living in the Biblical science and exegesis of a century ago. He would do well to turn to what such men as Nestle and Swete, and Driver and Ginsburg have to say on the subject that divides us, and to let the Buxtorfs who led the Reformers so far astray by their theory of verbal inspiration, and their devotion to the Masoretic text, sleep on in their everlasting dust.

Lastly, my reference to Josephus was to the fact that his quotations, so far as we know, are invariably from the Septuagint, and not from the Hebrew text, which latter Lagarde proved for all time was not composed in its present form till after Josephus' death. The fact of Josephus quoting the Septuagint proves that it was deemed canonical in his time by the Jews. That he knew Hebrew as well as Greek is virtually certain, for he was a Temple priest and a Pharisee. The fact that he did so makes my case much stronger.

I have gone through every paragraph and statement in the Canon's remarks, and I am afraid I must close as I began, by the statement that I entirely disagree with his methods, as I do with all his facts and arguments.



THE ICONOGRAPHY OF BES, AND OF PHŒNICIAN BES-HAND SCARABS.

BY ALICE GRENFELL.

“The development of Egypt’s culture is not to be understood without reference to the culture of Libya, hither Asia, and Mykenæ.”—*A. Wiedemann.*

“Gli oggetti che svelano il culto dominante sono gli scarabei.”—*G. Spano.*

We have adopted from the Italian the useful words “antica” and “graffito,” and it would be useful too if we adopted the word “*monumentini*,” to signify those small anticas which can all go into a person’s pocket, and several into his purse. This class comprises scarabs: scaraboids; plaques, etc.; cylinder seals; cone, dome, gable, thimble-shaped seals, etc.; figurines of divinities and sacred animals as well as their symbols and insignia, all classed under the convenient term “amulets”; small ornamented pots and vases and “objets de luxe” generally, such as sistra, toilet-trays, pendants, mirrors, bronze and silver bowls, etc.; of a later date generally than the above, coins and tesseræ. The extremely small space at the artist’s disposal often makes the designs on “monumentini” very difficult of interpretation, because a good deal has to be left out and only the more important figures and symbols can be expressed. The necessities of decoration causing doubling or trebling, etc., may also be a cause of obscurity.

It is interesting to attempt the interpretation of a particular form of scarab from the iconographic side, rather than from the literary (which is more usual) and compare it with other “monumentini.” I refer to the rare Bes-hand scarabs which are of steatite, of Phœnician, or perhaps Carthaginian symbolism, and are found in Lower Egypt and the Fayoum.

I have only been able to discover seven, having searched

through some thousands of scarabs, in public and private collections. These seven Bes-hand-scarabs are in the following places :—

British Museum	...	...	...	...	2
Berlin „	...	...	...	...	1
Ashmolean „	...	...	...	...	1
Lady Meux's Collection	...	...	...	...	1
Rev. W. McGregor's Collection	...	...	...	...	1
Mr. F. Hilton Price's „	...	...	...	...	1
					7

Thus six are in England out of seven. Bes, the ox head, the open hand and a crocodile—replaced by the sacred cartouche in Mr. Hilton Price's example—are the ingredients figured on these seven scarabs. We will begin with Bes.

Bes is a particularly puzzling and variable god. His ancient Egyptian names differ. Eight separate hieroglyphic names for him (?) are given by Herr Krall in his monograph on Bes.¹ The name which Bes bore in Babylonia, Arabia, Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia, Persia, Cyprus, Rhodes, Etruria, Sardinia, Carthage and the Crimea is unknown, though he appears in the extant ancient art-remains of all these places, as well as in the art-remains of ancient Egypt; but he is sometimes only imported.

Moderns have also varied his name. They have called him Bacchus; Gom; The Assyrian Hercules; Typhon; Typhon-Bes; Onouris [Anhur]; Khons-Kneph; Hercules Gigon; Hercules-Melkarth; Hercules-Khons; The Tyrian Hercules; The Phœnician Hercules; Sydyk-Vulcan; Esmun-Æsculapius; a Kabirus; a Phœnician Pataikos, etc. It is now agreed to call him Bes.

It is noteworthy that Bes *never* appears on Mycenæan gems. He is figured on a vase of *Ægean* type from Gurob, winged, bearded, holding two uzats or sacred eyes; see Prof. Petrie's *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, Plate XVII, 9. There is also a Besoid figure grasping two birds on an *Æginetan* pendant, figured in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XIII, 195.

Besides the uncertainty of Bes' name, there is also uncertainty as to his provenance, and the origin of his worship. Savants disagree as the source of his cultus.

¹ *Jahrbuch der Kunsthist. Samml. des all. Kaiserh.*, IX, 1889.

DR. S. BIRCH² thinks Bes comes from Arabia, 1878.

LANZONE³ considers him of Arabian origin, 1882.

FURTWÄNGLER⁴ calls Bes an originally Arabian god, who has quite the character of the idol of a semi-barbarous people, 1888.

KRALL⁵ makes out Bes to be autochthonous Egyptian, 1889.

BABELON⁶ also considers him of Egyptian origin, 1889.

DREXLER⁷ sums up others' views, somewhat favourably to Bes' Arabian origin, 1890.

WM. MAX MÜLLER⁸ thinks Bes a Semite god, and a distortion of the Babylonian "Nimrod" type, 1893.

FRIEDRICH⁹ thinks him identical with the Tyrian Hercules, and also adopts Wm. Max Müller's view, 1894.

ERMAN¹⁰ thinks him introduced probably into Egypt from the incense countries of the Red Sea, 1894.

VON STRAUZ UND TORNEY¹¹ despises Bes, "who was not always worshipped"; he is not from Arabia, for 'bes,' = go, run, is genuine Egyptian, 1894.

PROF. WIEDEMANN¹² says that Bes' whole appearance and attire point rather to an African, and indeed negro country, to the south of Egypt, as the place from which he sprang, 1897.

SETHE¹³ thinks Bes originally a god of subordinate rank, not native Egyptian, because full face, 1897-99.

GLASER¹⁴ Bes is non-Egyptian, imported from Punt, perhaps from To-neter, 1899.

DR. HOMMEL¹⁵ Bes' worship imported into Egypt from Arabia, 1899.

STEINDORFF¹⁶ Bes' cultus introduced into Egypt in early times, 1900.

This last utterance of Dr. Steindorff's displays the caution which is now characteristic of the modern archæologist.

² Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*, edition of 1878.

³ *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*.

⁴ Roscher's *Lexicon*, article "Heracles."

⁵ See Note 1.

⁶ *Manual of Oriental Antiquities*.

⁷ Roscher's *Lexicon*, article "Bes."

⁸ *Asien und Europa nach altäg. Denkm.*

⁹ *Kabiren und Keilinschriften*.

¹⁰ *Life in Ancient Egypt*.

¹¹ *Der Altägyptische Götterglaube*.

¹² *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*.

¹³ *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie*, article "Bes."

¹⁴ *Punt und die Südarabischen Reiche*.

¹⁵ Oriental Congress, Rome, reported in *Proc. S.B.A.*, No. CLXVIII.

¹⁶ *Die Blütezeit des Pharaonenreichs*.

Various savants. MM. Heuzey, Berger, etc., have suggested with plausibility that Bes is connected with, or is the prototype of the Gorgoneion, Herakles (fig. i), Silenus, Satyrs Marsyas, Terpon, etc. Bes is also portrayed (rarely) with feathers to his feet¹⁷ (generally on head rests), recalling the winged feet of Hermes; he is also eyed over with eyes¹⁸ (fig. ii) (as Argus Panoptes is), recalling the four beasts of Revelations, "full of eyes before and behind," one of the many Egyptian touches in the Apocalypse. Bes winged is more or less rare, and is often Phœnician in type; but a winged Bes scaraboid (fig. iii) in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and an equally unique (?) sealing wax impression of a destroyed scaraboid (?) in the Bristol Museum (fig. iv), appear to be Egyptian in type.



1.



11.



111.



IV.

The most striking peculiarity of Bes in Egyptian art is, as has been so often observed, his full face. The ubiquity of Bes is remarkable. He is to be found on the fragment from Prof. Petrie's *Naucratis*, Vol. II, Plate XXIII, 6; also at Dakkeh, playing the trigonon, Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*, 1878 edition, Vol. I, 469; on Bes-headed tribute vases (Rosellini); on the ruins of pillars of Ouad-Beyt-Naga (Caillard); on numerous Horus-cippi; on countless faïence Bes-head (fig v) and Bes-figurine amulets; on various scarabs, generally steatite (Sardinian scarabs of green jasper are sometimes profile, see *Culte de Mithra*, Lajard, Plate LXIX, 11; also *Bulletino Archeologico Sardo*, 1858, Plate IV, 17); on scaraboids of Bes-headed sphinxes (rare), of which two are in the Ashmolean Museum, a blue chalcedony from Beirût (fig. vi), and a

¹⁷ See *Asien und Europa*, W. Max Müller, 310; *Leyden Museum*, Leemans, Plate LXXIV, 546.

¹⁸ For Bes' connection with eyes, and the sacred 'uzat' or amuletic Eye, see mention made further on.

carneian from Damanhour (fig. VII), and a third example is in the late Sir Cuthbert Peek's collection on a limestone cone (fig. VIII); a double sphinx-body to one Bes head is figured in Dorow and Klaproth's *Antiquités Egyptiennes*, No. 1560 (presumably, as it is octagon, it is a chalcedony cone, according to Sig. E. Soldi, of late Assyrian reigns and Achæmid epoch); on plaques, mirror handles, kohl-pots, sistrum handles, boxes and trays; on an ivory box of the XIIIth dynasty (Ashmolean); on so-called "castanets," which are more likely "scratch-backs" (such as the Chinese use); on Persian cylinder-seals, two of which are figured in Lajard's *Mithra*, Plate XXXII, 1, and 54A, 13; the Ashmolean has a cylinder of the same type from the Lebanon; over the doorway of Gjölbасchi-Trysa Heroön, Lycia, eight times repeated, as there are eight Pataikoid figures in one compartment (and two eyes) on the remarkable pre-historic Nagada cylinder belonging to Prof. Sayce (fig. IX) (published in the Society's *Proceedings*, Nov., 1900); on coirs (Gorgoneion form); (fig. X) on a child's coffin, etc. The full face position is shared by other foreign deities besides Bes, which have been introduced into the Egyptian pantheon, namely Set, Kadesh and Hat-Hor (of Punt?). It is true that Set is oftener side face, but he is full face on the coffin, *Leyden Museum*, Vol. III, Plate VII, M 5. Kadesh is always full face: three examples are given in *Asien und Europa* 314. Hat-Hor is always full face, on pillars, scarabs, etc. The beard of Bes is usually treated in a non-Egyptian manner, occasionally in an Assyrian manner; one amulet in the Ashmolean has the Egyptian beard-case (fig. XI). Bes is never repre-



V.



VI.



VII.



VIII.



IX.



X.

sented with an animal's head (though his ears are often those of an animal), so commonly the case with Egyptian deities. He is never represented as an animal at all, except of the most august type—the sphinx, and then with a full face, bearded, human head, and this



XI.

is an entirely non-Egyptian, rare Asiatic form of him. In later Syncretic (Roman?) times, when there was such a tendency to fuse the deities into each other, Bes has a Horus-hawk body added to his human body (fig. XII), and is covered with sacred eyes, or uzats, as in the pantheistic example in the British Museum papyrus Sams. 41, referred to in M. Pleyte's *Chapitres Supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*. But this may be a copy of a more ancient one. Besides on Sardinian jasper scarabs, which Prof. Furtwängler considers to be Phœnician, and not much before the 6th century B.C., under strong Greek influence, Bes is also drawn side face (?) in the



XII.

temple of Wadi-es-Sofra, and on a limestone tray in the Ashmolean (figured by Krall) of careful workmanship with amuletic markings, which give a complete proof of the truth of the theory that the lotus symbolizes life. There is a peculiarity in Bes side face steatite scarabs that his nose is not drawn (showing a strong disinclination to part with his full face), but merely a straight line down the face, so that the profile is undefined, and hardly a profile at all. Four



XIII.



XIV.



XV.



XVI.

side face (?) Bes-hand scarabs are figured here, and one Bes-hand full face (figs. XIII–XVII), which last is in the usual akimbo-amulet attitude, dancing. It is remarkable that four out of five side face (?) Bes scarabs, and one full face, have the ox head. This combination of Bes (Gorgoneion form) and ox head is also on a coin of Eretria, already given. Dr. H. Schäfer, of Berlin, has kindly drawn my attention to the curious connection between hand-crocodile scarabs and the Berlin papyrus published recently by Prof. Erman, with the magic formula for mother and child, “über Kugeln von Gold, Ringen von Amethyst, einem Siegel, einem Krokodil

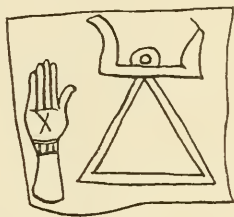
und einer Hand." To be strung and put as Amulet on the child's neck.

One can only surmise that the Bes-hand scarab of the Berlin Museum is without the ox head, because the cross sign on the hand does instead. This sign (cestus?) is repeated on a Carthaginian stele in company with the "Tanit" sign (fig. xviii), *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Tab. IV, 536.



XVII.

This full face ox head is not in the position of the head of the fairly common Egyptian carnelian amulet of the ox tied for sacrifice, or in the position of the particularly common determinative of an ox head as meat (so often found on stelæ), which, being native Egyptian, are shown side-face or three-quarter face. This Bes scarab ox head is in the position of the ox head on Mycenæan gems, and the ox head¹⁹ on the dagger-handle of king Aahmes (in whose time so much Aëgean influence flowed into Egypt), and the ox head on the shield of the Carian-armoured warrior on the well known vase from Cære (fig. xix). The full face ox head is also found with the following sacred signs, etc.



XVIII.

The double axe of Cretan Zeus, on the Mycenæan gem, figured in *Mycenæ*, 362, found in the plains of Argos, and also figured by Prof. Furtwängler, in his *Antike Gemmen*; also with four double axes, a star of four points, an X-shaped cross, a gazelle and a snake on a cylinder, *Salaminia*, No. 134; with nine new moons, two Pataikoids, three open hands, three birds and four gazelle heads on a cylinder, de Clercq Collection, No. 293; with caduceus and "Tanit" sign on a terra cotta token from Hadrumentum; with disk and (?) on a cone seal figured in the catalogue of the Cyprus Museum, No. 4528; with hippopotamus, beetle with outspread wings, and two uræi proceeding from the ox's mouth (fig. xx) on a scarab, Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, Plate



XIX.

¹⁹ *Ein Thebanischer-Grabsfund aus dem Anfang des neuen Reichs.* V. Bissing, 1900.



XX.



XXI.

XXIII, 82 ; on another scarab between two heraldically-placed lions (fig. XXI), *Tell el Yahûdiéh*, Plate XVI, 3 ; on a third in Mr. Fraser's newly published Catalogue (No. 231) over cartouche. A full face ox head on a limestone block figured on Plate II, *Hieraconpolis*, Quibell, 1900, is a rare example in Egyptian (?) art. The full face ox head is also figured in the Theban tomb of Mentu-m-hat²⁰ XXVIth dynasty. This worthy is represented wearing two ornaments; one an ox head full face, the other shaped as two joined wine-jars, like the determinative for

wine. As Mentu-m-hat also has a very large sealed jar under his chair, instead of a pet animal which is more usual, we can only surmise that he or his friends took what they considered the necessary steps for his being well provided with beef and wine in the next world. There is considerable non-Egyptian influence in the ox-head scarabs just mentioned. The *Tell el Yahûdiéh* scarab's heraldically-placed lions form a north Syrian device ; and animals, especially gazelles heraldically-placed, are very frequent on north Syrian or "Hittite" cylinder seals ; the *Illahun*, *Kahun* and *Gurob* scarab is filled up in its spaces with dots and lines, which is a peculiarity of early vases, and of Delta scarabs under foreign influence, and particularly



XXII.

noticeable in the gazelle-scarabs (fig. XXII) (with branches for filling up) so frequent in the Tell el Amarna relics. The full face ox head is also common on the roughly-designed Cypriote cylinder-seals. It is rarer on "Hittite" cylinders. The following example (Lajard, *Mithra*, Plate XXXII, 7) has both ox head and open hand (fig. XXIII) (evidently with a sacred meaning, emblematic or amuletic), and these cylinders show a distinct connexion with hand-scarabs.



XXIII.

Prof. Sayce has a pre-historic alabaster full face ox head amulet (fig. XXIV) in his collection, pierced for suspension through the eyes, and found in the tomb of King I, at Tukh, Nagada. He has kindly allowed me to copy it. It is Libyan (?),

²⁰ Vol. V of *Mission Arch. Fr. au Caire*, 1894. V. Scheil.

and resembles the Mycenæan type (though of much ruder work) of the ox head on the gold plate of a casket found in grave V at Mycenæ,²¹ and also the ox head on the Cære vase. All three heads have the same fault, that of placing the eyes too near together and too high up in the face. This seems to have been a primitive type, and the design on the Cære vase (7th century B.C., Mr. J. L. Myres) may have been copied from a much older original. There are three pre-historic examples of ox head full face amulets in the Ashmolean Museum, one from Abydos and two from Nagada, given by Prof. Petrie. The one from Abydos (tomb X 31) is an important type-specimen showing the origin of the form.



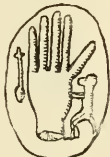
XXIV.

The highest honours are paid to Bes on scarabs and amulets, and his attributes and insignia are numerous. Bes is:—

(a) Worshipped by apes (fig. xxv), as the Sacred Hand is (fig. xxvi), and the Royal Horse (fig. xxvii); also he is imaged



XXV.



XXVI.



XXVII.

with an ape at his knees, and holding a gazelle, or Syrian goat, by both his hands; see No. 20845, in the British Museum, a very extraordinary amuletic (?) figurine of him (fig. xxviii). This figurine brings Bes into relationship with one particular type of cylinder seals (figs. xxix, xxx, xxxi) of which M. de Clercq's magnificent collection gives nine or more examples. Cullimore's



XXVIII.



XXIX.

²¹ *Schliemann's Exc.* Schuchardt.

Oriental Cylinders gives two, Menant's *Glyptique Orientale* two and Mr. C. J. Ball's *Light from the East*, and Queen's College, Oxford, one each. I think no one could look at the British Museum figurine, No. 20845, and this type of cylinder seal, and not see a very strong resemblance between them. The Pataikoid figure with the ape on the cylinders, if not Bes himself, must be at least "a parallel but variant type" of Bes, as Mr. A. J. Evans



XXX.



XXXI.

says of the Patacus-like bow-legged figures on the clay cylinder in the Ghizeh Museum; see *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Oct., 1897. Mr. Evans also remarks that "the Patacus-like figures, . . . point to a race who had intimate relations with the traditional enemies of the Pharaohs on the Syrian side." This peculiar sort of Syrian cylinder seal most curiously confirms his words. [I shall return to other points in this unique Bes-amulet (?) figurine later.]

(b) Bes has the *nefer* and the *ankh*, which are divine and royal signs (fig. XXXII). (For the *Ankh*, see fig. III.)



XXXII.



XXXIII.

(c) He is called $\overline{\text{—}} \overline{\text{—}}$, lord of the two lands, a royal title.



XXXIV.



XXXV.

(d) He stands over a crocodile victoriously (fig. XXXIII), as the king, represented under the figure of a lion (Queen's College,

Oxford) (fig. xxxiv) or horse (Louvre) (fig. xxxv), on two hand-scarabs.

(e) He stands over hippopotami (fig. xxxvi).



xxxvi.



xxxvii.

(f) He stands over a gazelle or Syrian goat, (fig. xxxvii) an animal typifying Syria (?) and most common on cylinder seals.

(g) Uræi spring from and at his sides ;²²

„ „ from his wrists ;²³

„ „ from his head ;²⁴

„ „ from sides and wings ;²⁵

„ „ from his hands ;²⁶

Uræus springs from his foot, also uræi.²⁷

(h) Bes is winged ; two wings from his sides ;²⁸

two from his arms,²⁹

with two wings ending in gazelle heads ;³⁰

with four wings ;³¹

(i) He is eyed over with uzats.³²

The uzats appear to dwindle into { ordinary eyes ;³³
raised spots ;³⁴
flat spots.³⁵

²² Dorow and Klaproth, Plate XXIII, 1272 : and Ashmolean.

²³ Dorow and Klaproth, Plate VII, 389.

²⁴ Collection Panvert de la Chapelle in Louvre.

²⁵ British Museum Sardinian Scarab, Catalogue, 172.

²⁶ Ashmolean, fig. III.

²⁷ Ashmolean, same as ³¹, uræus, also Louvre figurine, uræi.

²⁸ Ashmolean Museum, fig. III.

²⁹ Bristol Museum, fig. IV.

³⁰ Ashmolean sphinx and scaraboid from Beirût, fig. VI.

³¹ Annali dell' Instituto, 1883. Ebers, Plate F, 25.

³² Papyrus Sams, 41.

³³ Caylus, Vol. IV, *Recueil d'Antiquites*.

³⁴ Edinburgh Museum Casket, fig. LIII.

³⁵ British Museum figurine.

(j) His head-dress is separately represented, as the head-dresses of the great gods are, and the crowns of Egypt.³⁶

(k) He wears the lock of the young Horus when coalesced with him.³⁷

(l) As a pantheistic deity the hawk of Horus is joined to his human body.³⁸

(m) He is on an ægis.³⁹

(n) He has the sacred cartouche, which is used in some amuletic (?) way with him.



(o) He drinks out of a krater or jar by means of tubes (fig. XXXVIII) and is represented holding the tubing (fig. XXXIX). This peculiar

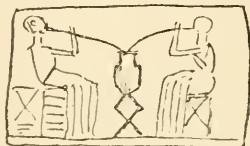


XXXVIII.



XXXIX.

way of drinking connects him with North Syrian? (Hittite?) and other cylinder seals, of which three are figured in Lajard's *Mithra* with divinities drinking out of kraters by means of tubes: there is also a cylinder in the Ashmolean Museum (Liddon Collection) (fig. XL), and another from Ain Tab (fig. XLI) with figures similarly



XL.



XLI.

drinking. That this was a Syrian custom in the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty we know from the stele of a Syrian mercenary (Steindorff, *Blütezeit*, p. 58) drinking from a tube inserted into a large jar on a stand, the tube being presented him by a servant, and his wife sitting opposite. Tube-drinking scarabs are scarce; there is one in the British Museum (fig. XLII) and one in the Bristol Museum



XLII.



XLIII.

³⁶ Caylus, Vol. VII, Plate III, 5.

³⁷ Athanasi Collection. P. Q. Visconti, 1837.

³⁸ See Caylus, Lanzoni's *Dizion*.

³⁹ Leyden Museum.

from Tell el Yahûdiêh (fig. XLIII). M. Clermont Ganneau has kindly given me a reference to a singular passage in Athenæus, Book XI, Chap. 3, where mention is made of a rhyton, apparently Bes-shaped. On it the god is represented dancing; and blowing down an orifice through which liquid comes. This makes a noise, and was a signal for mirth and jollity.

(p) Bes is represented with female breasts ;⁴⁰ with teats⁴¹ (sphinx form), probably to emphasize his kourotophroic side.

(q) he is accompanied by slain enemies on one side of him,⁴² or on one side and above the sacred cartouche ;⁴³ dangling enemies by a string from his hands.⁴⁴

(r) His shape is particularly variable, showing his prevalence in time and space down from a very archaic period ; cf. the grotesque examples from the Queen's College Collection given here (figs. XLIV, XLV, XLVI, XLVII).



XLIV.



XLV.



XLVI.



XLVII.

He has the Osirian flail or whip.⁴⁵

(s) He is doubled ; trebled : (fig. XLVIII)⁴⁶ four times repeated ; eight times on the doorway of Gjölbaschi Trysa Heroön, Lycia, as has been already noticed.



XLVIII.

Of animals on scarabs, etc., the Egyptians double crocodiles and scorpions generally (when these are without accompanying figures, etc.) ; scorpions are trebled, see

Quibell, *Ramesseum*, Plate XXX, 30 ; ichneumon, rarely

doubled (one is at Leyden Museum) and trebled, very rare, (Ashmolean) ; horse, doubled on a rare scarab, Ashmolean, but non-Egyptian in type ; lion, doubled, rare, plaque in possession of Mrs. Tuckett, of

⁴⁰ Edinburgh Museum Casket.

⁴¹ In Ashmolean Museum, and Collection of the late Sir Cuthbert Peek.

⁴² *Naucratis*, II, Plate XVIII, 74.

⁴³ Oxley scarab.

⁴⁴ Limestone tray in Ashmolean.

⁴⁵ *Dorow and Klaproth*, Plate XXVIII, 1506.

⁴⁶ Trebled on inscribed base of man-headed hedgehog amulet (very rare), Ashmolean, also see a fish-plaque *Naucratis*, I, Plate XXXVIII, 157. Two of the figures have a petticoat, as is also the case in the Tell Muqdâm scarab.

Frenchay; uræus, doubled and trebled, very common (doubtless because their long thin bodies will not otherwise fill up the given space); four and five times repeated uræi are rarer, see Denon's *Egypt*, Plate LXXXI, 19; there is also an example in the Ashmolean. Doubling does not count for much in art representation; it is convenient for making things balance, and trebling even small items fills up the space, for filling up seems to have been essential to satisfy early art-feeling; but when it comes to repeating eight times a figure in one scene or compartment, this makes one think that the said figure may belong to the class of elemental divinities adored in sets, as the mysterious Calceiri, or the Pataikoi, or the Khnumu, which often have a demiurgic character. Some savants have thought this Pataikoid variety sidereal, others metallurgic. But there is no question of the extreme archaic quality of Pataikoids, as the Sayce cylinder shows. Herodotus mentions in a frequently quoted passage that the Phœnicians put a Pataikos figure on the prow of their ships, to frighten savages. It is an interesting question (considering that an eye is often painted on ancient ships) whether this eye has a connection with the sacred eye, or uzat. That Herodotus' Pataikos was Bes seems most likely, and the mysterious divinity mentioned by Polybius without his name may perhaps be Bes, and Bes may be the Carthaginian sea-deity whose name is unknown, and was not mentioned owing to superstition. But all this cannot be authenticated.

Some have thought the Greek 'Pataikos' to be connected with the Egyptian 'Ptah,' the demiurgic Egyptian god *par excellence*. Mr. Hilton Price has a blue porcelain amuletic open hand with "Ptah,"  written hieroglyphically and alphabetically on it.

This amulet is a link with the Cypriote cylinder (fig. XLIX), and with the Sardinian antique, probably of Carthaginian origin, preserved in a Sardinian MS. of the 15th century (fig. L), where the cat head in the centre seems to be symbolic of the sun, and three creative hands appear to have produced the four elements according to the ancients, earth, air, fire, and water.



XLIX.

The mouflon shows the local character. To return to the Sayce prehistoric cylinder with the eight Pataikoids. In addition to a seated woman, and another figure in a separate compartment, it has two large eyes. Now the com-

bination of Bes and the sacred Eye or Uzat is most marked, see Papyrus Sams 41, already mentioned; an uzat is also usually



L.

placed on the reverse of the fairly common round faience Bes-head amulets. These sometimes have fluted edge, like a half crown. One example from Queen's College, Oxford (fig. v), has been given, and there are two in the Ashmolean, of which the more perfect one is drawn (fig LI). There is also one in the British Museum. A square, fluted at the edge, Bes-head amulet with reverse an uzat is in Leemans, *Leyden Museum*, Plate XLIV, 694; the por-

celain amulet Bes-figurine (fig. LII) is carrying an uzat in each hand, as does the winged Bes on the Gurob vase.

The carnelian plaque of Bes (fig. XLVI), Queen's College, Oxford, also has a Sacred Eye on the reverse. An uzat is conspicuously placed over a Pantheistic deity on an apotropæic stele, figured in *R. Museo Borbonico*, Vol. X, Tavola XLVIII (1834). Bes covered with ordinary eyes is figured in Caylus, Plate XVI, already given, and



LI.



LII.

by Lanzzone, *Dizionario*, etc. There also seems to be an ordinary eye on the gazelle held by Bes B.M. 20845. On an ebony casket of XVIIIth Dynasty in the Edinburgh Museum there is a Bes figure with *raised* spots (fig. LIII), and the Bes No. 20845, British Museum, has *flat* spots over him, which appear to be the remains of degenerated eyes. Thus a most remarkable link is set up between the Sayce prehistoric cylinder and the

numerous Bes amulets and apotropæic bas-reliefs, and as Bes (or a "parallel but variant form of him") has already appeared on Syrian (?) cylinders with ape, the conclusion is that he seems to



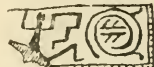
LIII.

have originally been connected with a Pataikoid elemental god, one of a set, and as Lenormant says, to belong to the "cycle des mythes dans lesquels les puissances démiurgiques sont enfantées par la main de la personnification divine de la nature primordiale du chaos qui va être organisé par ces puissances." That Bes was also a great tamer or master of animals is another proof of his extreme antiquity. The importance of animals in primitive civilisations is much lost

sight of in modern times; especially as the fashion of using them in decorative art has so much given way to vegetable or flower decoration. The men of the Palæolithic age always outlined animals on their reindeer-horns; they might just as well have outlined their babies, which one would have thought were more interesting to them, but they did not, because their imaginations were full of mighty animal forms, then so abundant and so dangerous.



LIV.



LV.

Prof. Helbig remarks "that decorative *motifs* in early art are often supplied by the objects of the cultus," so it is not surprising that a Pataikoid should very often be found on prehistoric seals, etc., down even to late times, as the ancients were so conservative. There is a Pataikoid on a gable seal (fig. LIV), and also on a false cylinder seal



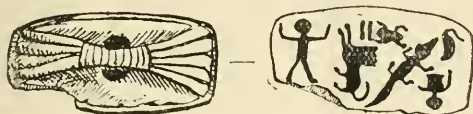
LVI.



LVII.

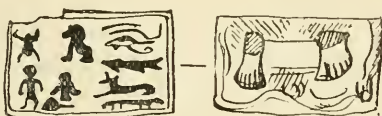
(fig. LV), both in Ashmolean, and on a thimble-shaped cone seal (Sayce Collection) (fig. LVI), and on the base of a lion amulet (in

Ashmolean) (fig. LVII), all four from El Kab; also on a seal belonging to Sir John Scott (fig. LVIII), which he kindly allows me to publish, obtained from a village near Luxor. There are also in the Ashmolean three remarkable and rare faience amulets (figs. LIX, LIX^a, LIX^b), not so ancient as the above (?), composed of two feet standing on crocodiles, etc. (or a serpent is round the feet), and from the clean way the feet are broken off, there appears never to



LVIII.

have been any figurine to which they belonged. On the base of each of these feet-amulets is a Pataikoid figure, and on two of them is an uzat also, (the third, being broken, we cannot be sure of); there are also numerous signs and animals. Comparing these with



LIX.

the already-mentioned four bow-legged Pataikoids on Libyan clay-cylinder, and with Bes-like figure, with arms raised, on black steatite cylinder, reign of Pepi II, 4th millennium B.C., Petrie Collection (see *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Oct., 1897), and with the terra cotta



LIX a.

LIX b.

cylinder figured by Lajard, *Mithra*, etc., Plate XLII, 8, we see how widespread was this appearance of the Besoid Pataikoid. And curious minutiae are preserved. For instance, the two enigmatic

strokes on Sir John Scott's seal (which may only be, of course, filling-up marks) are exactly repeated on the Etruscan dome seal found at Chiusi, and now in the gold room of the British Museum (fig. LX).



LX.

This dome seal is also akin to cylinders by the number of its fingers (five) a peculiarity meaning increase of power, which is also to be found on a cylinder belonging to the late Sir Cuthbert Peek (fig. LXI), which he kindly allowed me to reproduce from the rare pamphlet by Mr. Pinches. There is also an example of a seated figure, with five fingers (enlarged) and a thumb, drinking from a tube inserted in a large krater (fig. LXII),



LXI.



LXII.

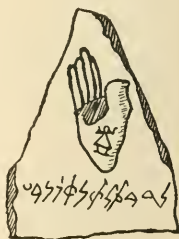
see Lajard's *Mithra*, Plate XLI, 6. The Louvre Bes-hand Scarab is another conspicuous example (seven fingers and thumb) (fig. LXIII). The enlarged hand also occurs on the *Mithra* cylinder, Plate XLI, 6; as it does also on the unique Bes-hand porcelain scarab (four fingers and no thumb) (fig. LXIV), and an enlarged thumb is found on a Carthaginian stele (fig. LXV).



LXIII.



LXIV.



LXV.

The human hand, as being a detachable part of the human body, had a peculiar fascination for the ancients, and very early passed into an amulet with apotropæic force. Professor Petrie has found hand amulets on a mummy of the Vth Dynasty at Deshasheh. But the iconography of the open hand is so large and copious, that it must be deferred to another paper.

I beg to thank Mr. A. J. Evans, Dr. Budge, Mr. Pinches, Sir John Scott, Mr. Hilton Price, M. Pierret, the late Sir Cuthbert Peek, Professor Sayce, the Provost and Fellows of Queen's College, Oxford, and especially the Librarian, the Rev. E. M. Walker, Mr. Bell, and others, for their kindness in either allowing me to publish specimens, or directing my attention to rarities, etc.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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*An asterisk * is placed against those which are unpublished.*

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Bes with Horus-hawk body. Amulet. Caylus	XII
*Green porcelain scarab, enlarged hand, Bes, ox head, crocodile. Ashmolean. Very rare	XIII
Bes, ox head, hand, crocodile. <i>Naucratis</i> , I, Pl. XXXVIII, 150... ..	XIV
Bes, ox head, hand, cartouche. Hilton Price Collection	XV
*Bes, hand with cross, crocodile. Berlin Museum	XVI
*Bes, ox head, hand, crocodile, McGregor Collection	XVII
Carthaginian stela. <i>Corpus Inscr. Semiticarum</i> , Tab. IV, 536	XVIII
Shield of Carian warrior from Cære vase. <i>Monumenti dell' Istituto</i> , IX	XIX
Scarab. Petrie's <i>Illahun, Kahun and Gurob</i> , Pl. XXIII, 82	XX
Scarab. <i>Tell el Yahûdiéh</i> , Pl. XVI, 3	XXI
*Tell el Amarna gazelle scarab. Ashmolean	XXII
Hæmatite cylinder. Lajard's <i>Mithra</i> , Pl. XXXII, 7	XXIII
*Pre-historic alabaster ox head. Sayce Collection	XXIV
Bes adored by apes. Dorow and Klaproth, Pl. XII, 619	XXV
*Sacred hand worshipped. Porcelain scarab. Ashmolean. Very rare	XXVI
Heter or horse scarab. Hilton Price Collection	XXVII

FIGURE.

*Bes figurine. British Museum, No. 20845	XXVIII
Cylinder. Menant's <i>Glyptique Orientale</i>	XXIX
Cullimore's <i>Oriental Cylinders</i> , 112	XXX
Cullimore's <i>Oriental Cylinders</i> , 113	XXXI
Bes worshipped with nefers. Dorow and Klaproth, Pl. XII, 620 ...	XXXII
Bes over crocodile. Dorow and Klaproth, Pl. XXIII, 1273 ...	XXXIII
*Hand, king as a lion over crocodile. Queen's College, Oxford ...	XXXIV
*Hand, king as a horse over crocodile Louvre. Very rare ...	XXXV
*Bes four times repeated (or two Bes and two wives?), over hippopotami. Tell Muqdâm. Steatite scarab. Ashmolean	XXXVI
Stone scarab. Figured by Wm. Oxley, <i>Egypt</i> , etc., 1884. Trübner. Very rare	XXXVII
*Steatite scarab from Jerusalem, Bes doubled, drinking out of tubes. Very rare. Ashmolean	XXXVIII
Bes holding tubing. Dorow and Klaproth, Plate XIV, 721 ...	XXXIX
*Two figures drinking out of tubes. Cylinder. Liddon Collection. Ashmolean	XL
*Figure holding tubing, and dwarf or child (Pataikos?) ditto. Cylinder. Ain Tab. Ashmolean... ..	XLI
*Man drinking out of tube. Scarab. British Museum	XLII
*Ditto. Bristol Museum... ..	XLIII
*Bes, almost turned into a pattern. Queen's College, Oxford ...	XLIV
*Bes, with his head dropped into his middle, to make him grotesque. Queen's College, Oxford	XLV
*Bes, on carnelian plaque. Queen's College, Oxford	XLVI
*Reverse of Bes plaque, an uzat. Queen's College, Oxford... ..	XLVII
*Base of hedgehog amulet. Ashmolean. Bes tripled	XLVIII
Cypriote cylinder, hand, bird, fish, gazelle, six planets (?). Cesnola, Curium Treasure, <i>Cyprus</i>	XLIX
Sardinian antique with three hands, etc. Della Marmora	L
*Fluted Bes head amulet. Ashmolean... ..	LI
Bes figurine, holding two uzats. Louvre. Figured in <i>Mon. dell' Instituto</i>	LII
Bes with female breasts, on casket. Edinburgh Museum	LIII
*Gable seal. El Kab. Ashmolean	LIV
*False cylinder seal. Ashmolean	LV
*Thimble-shaped cone seal. Sayce Collection	LVI
*Lion amulet, and base. Ashmolean	LVII
*Sir John Scott's seal	LVIII
*Three feet amulets and three bases of ditto. Ashmolean ...	LIX, LIXa, LIXb
*Etruscan dome seal. Gold room, British Museum	LX
Cylinder, belonging to the late Sir C. Peek	LXI
Lajard's <i>Mithra</i> . Pl. XLI, 6, cylinder	LXII
*Louvre scarab, hand, horse, crocodile, etc. Same as XXXV ...	LXIII
*Bes, enlarged hand, etc. Ashmolean. Same as XIII	LXIV
Carthaginian stela. <i>Corpus Inscr. Semiticarum</i>	LXV

THE FRAGMENTS OF THE "ASTARTE" PAPYRUS OF THE AMHERST COLLECTION.

BY WILHELM SPIEGELBERG.

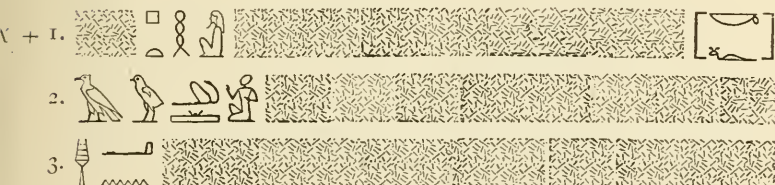
Among the hieratic papyri, by whose splendid publication LORD AMHERST has again laid Egyptology under great obligations, are some fragments previously known only from some short notes of S. BIRCH.* Now when these fragments are put before us in facsimiles nearly equal to the originals, it seems worth while to examine them again in the light of the progress which Egyptology has made since the first attempt of the great hieratic scholar.

It would be hopeless to attempt restoring the *ensemble* of all the small fragments which fill Plates XIX-XXI of Mr. NEWBERRY'S edition; but I think for both dictionary and grammar it is of some value to give so far as possible an accurate transcription of the existing text, with a few restorations in lacunæ where they are nearly or quite certain. With this transcription I will endeavour to give an idea of the story, which is important enough to make one wish some day to find a complete copy.

TRANSCRIPTION.

PLATE XIX.

I, 2, 3.



* *Aegypt. Zeitschrift*, 1871, S. 119. Birch thinks that the papyrus originally was about 16 feet long and had about eleven lines in each page. But the first page seems to have had more lines. The date of the manuscript is that of the Papyrus d'Orbiney, which it resembles remarkably, both in writing and style. So I venture the date of the XIXth Dynasty and perhaps that of the reign of Rameses II, which seems the most probable date for the writing of d'Orbiney.

4.

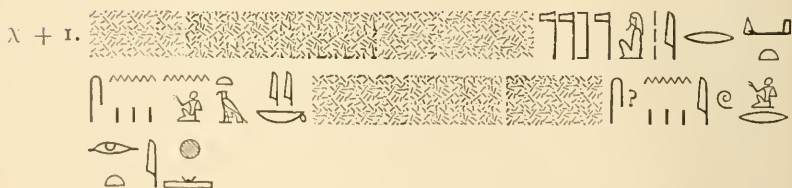


7.†



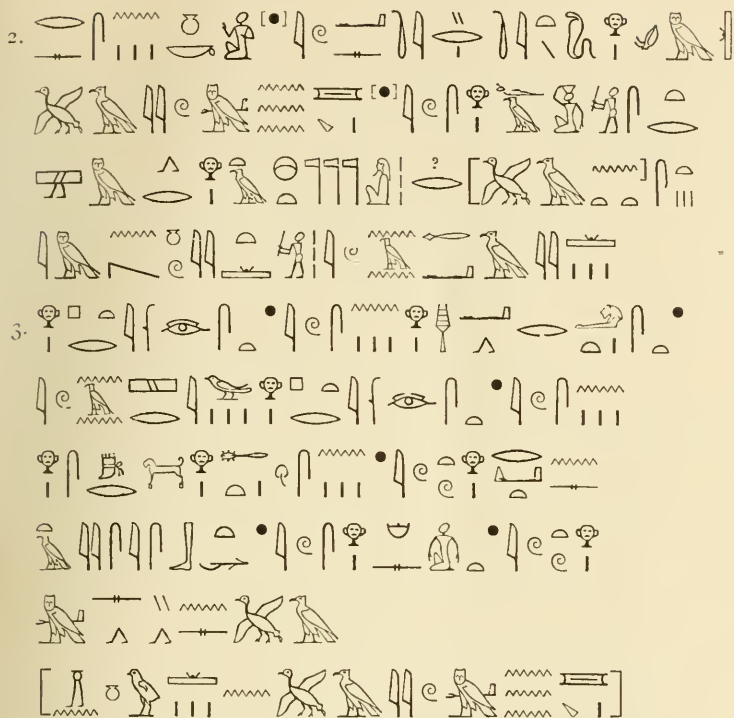
PLATE XXI.

I.

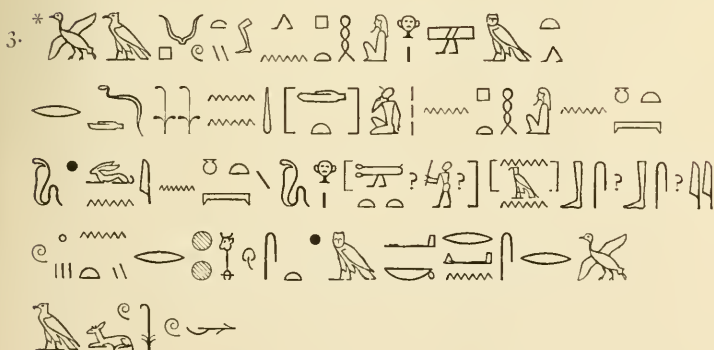


*  Δ , an interjection, introducing sometimes the imperative. Compare *Paheri*, V, DÜMICHEN, *Flotte*, 4. There is a variant  Δ in a limestone fragment in the Museum at Karlsruhe.

† 6 does not belong to these fragments. It must be from a papyrus of accounts.



2.



* Nothing remains of the preceding lines except .

“And Astarte heard the sea, and she betook herself to go* to the place where they (*i.e.*, the gods) were. . . .† As the old saw her, they rose before her; as the young saw her,‡ they threw themselves upon their belly. One gave to her her throne, and she took place.§ One brought to her the [tribute of the sea].”

We do not learn from the other fragments what was the final decision of the gods. Perhaps there were still long negotiations among them. If so, the following fragment may be in connection with it :—

“The messenger of Ptaḥ went to say those words of Ptaḥ to Nut. And Nut took (?) the beads (?) which were at her neck. So she put [them] upon the balance.”

I do not claim to have restored the connection between the larger fragments with certainty, but one result—and an important one—is beyond every doubt, that Astarte is named here “daughter of Ptah.” This designation is not surprising if we remember that the cult of the goddess was localised at Memphis.|| We learn now that she was joined to the Memphitic triad of *Ptah*, *Sechemet*, and *Nefr-âtom*, the last of whom was replaced later by Imhotep, as another child of Ptah.

What was the subject of this mythological text? Was it a mere tale, intended simply for the amusement of the people? That I cannot believe. The very material point, the "tributes of the sea," round which the story centres, puts me on the track of another explanation.

The Egyptian did not always write his mythological tales out of

* Concerning the construction and meaning of f^3j , cf. *d'Orb.* VI, 3   
                    u X, 6, XIII, 1.

† For this construction compare P. GOLENISCHEFF, II, 62        

‡ For this meaning of *c*³ and *šrj* see *Pap. d'Orb.*, I, 1.

§ It is interesting to observe that here the infinitive with *h̄r* (later simple infinitive) has the meaning of the beginning action (contrary to the Pseudoparticium).

¹ See WIEDEMANN, *Herodots zweites Buch*, p. 433.

simple love of fantastic ideas; sometimes they were directed to more practical ends. The stories of the Princess of Bachtan, of the Seven Years' Famine, and many others, tell a tale in order to ascribe to a god or to his priests some right of possession. It may have been the same with our tale. Astarte was not an old native goddess, but an intruder in the Egyptian pantheon; when she was received as a member of the Memphitic triad she had no ancient claims to any land or possessions from which she could live. Her realm was the sea since old times, and as she had long protected her own class of the Semitic race, so now she had to protect the Egyptians passing with their ships over the sea, her great sacred *temenos*. With this idea the Egyptians, on receiving her as goddess, gave her as a dowry the rule of the sea. Thus Astarte would become *hnt wꜥꜥ wr*, "the Lady of the Ocean," like Neit of Sais, in the famous stela of Nectanebus published by Maspero. It is the comparison with that text which makes me think that Astarte obtained as possession a tax, "the tribute of the 'sea'"—perhaps a tithe, like Neit—of everything imported from the sea. It is easy now to understand the important *rôle* which the sea plays in the fragments of our story, and to guess the end of our lost tale.



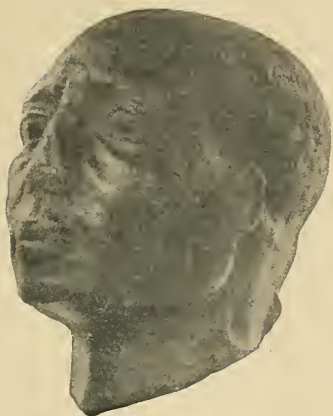


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

HEADS OF SMALL STATUES FOUND AT THE TEMPLE OF MUT.

TWO HEADS OF SMALL STATUES FOUND AT THE
TEMPLE OF MUT AT KARNAK.

BY W. L. NASH, F.S.A.

I bought these heads of statues at Luxor four or five years ago. They were found on the site of the Temple of Mut, but in what part of the building I do not know.

Fig. 1 is carved in black basalt, and is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. The head is represented as completely shaven, and I suppose it to represent the head of a priest. The features are very carefully modelled, and it is a fine example of ancient carving. The style of carving seems to show Greek influence, and its date may probably be XXVI dynasty. It bears a striking resemblance to a basalt head found at Memphis, and now in the Berlin museum, (No. 12500 in the museum catalogue) where it is described as being of Græco-Roman time. It measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. A bronze cast of it was exhibited at the exhibition of Egyptian Art, at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, in 1895.

The other head, Fig. 2, is made of a very hard blue paste, of fine texture, and is 2 inches high. It wears the cap of Amen, in the top of which is a hole into which the feathers of the head-dress (now missing) fitted. The eyebrows and eyes have been inlaid; the inlay has dropped out, but the red cement with which it was held in place still remains. On each side of the face is a curved groove extending from the lower edge of the cap to the chin, no doubt representing the straps by which the false beard worn by kings was suspended. It probably comes from a figure of Amen, either of the God himself or of a king wearing the attributes of the God, and may be of the time of the XXII dynasty. A somewhat similar head is figured in the Misses Benson and Gourley's work "The Temple of Mut in Asher."



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday, February 12th, 1902, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

The Rev. W. Shaw-Caldecott : The Senkereh Tablet : the *Soss*, the *Ell*, and the *Reed* of Babylonia.



NOTICES.

SUBSCRIPTIONS to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount, £1 1s., at once to the Society's Account at Messrs. Lloyds' Bank, Limited, 16, St. James's Street, S.W.

PAPERS proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having NEW MEMBERS to propose, are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council.

A few complete sets of the publications of the Society can be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. HARRY RYLANDS, 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list of Members, in order to secure the regular delivery of the *Proceedings*.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

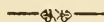
THIRTY-SECOND SESSION, 1902.

VOLUME XXIV.

Second Meeting, 12th February, 1902.

SIR H. H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E., D.C.L., &c., &c.* (Member of
Council),

IN THE CHAIR.



The Chairman referred to the severe loss suffered, not only by the Society but by learning in general, by the death of one of the most learned and distinguished, as well as one of the oldest, of the Honorary Members, Professor C. P. Tiele, born December, 1830, died on the 11th of January, 1902.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From Rev. W. Shaw-Caldecott:—Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Längenmasse nach der Tafel von Senkereh. Von R. Lepsius. Berlin. 4to. 1877.

From the Author:—Reading Abbey. By Jamieson B. Hurry, M.A., M.D. London. 4to. 1901.

From Madame Menant:—Notice sur la Vie et les Travaux de Joachim Menant par M. le Duc de la Trémoille. Paris. 4to. 1901.

From the Author:—Beginnings of Hebrew Monotheism—The Ineffable Name. By William F. Warren. *Methodist Review*. January, 1902.

From the Author:—Die Unterhaltungslitteratur der alten Ägypter. Von Dr. Alfred Wiedemann. *Der Alte Orient*. Vol. III. Part 4. Leipzig. 1902.

From the Author:—Se i Tirreni-Etruschi Immigrassero d' Asia in Italia per l' Adriatico Ovvero per il Tirreno. By the Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. *Civiltà Cattolica*. 1 Febbraio, 1902.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated in January:—

Henry Swainson Cooper, F.S.A., &c., Yewfield, Hawkshead, Lancashire.

F. G. Fleay, 27, Dafforne Road, Upper Tooting, S.W.

H. Löcherbach, Herzogenrath, Germany.

F. W. Lönnbeck, 52, Nybrogatan, Stockholm, Sweden.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting on March 12th:—

Mrs. Charles F. Allison, Halcyon Lodge, Cumberland Park, Acton.

Frederick H. Franklin, Castle Hill House, Oxford.

Rev. William Shaw-Caldecott, Sheen Park, Richmond.

Ernest Sibree, M.A., University College, Bristol.

Rev. E. Sinker, M.A., Senior Chaplain, Missions to Seamen,
Poplar, E.

The following Paper was read :—

REV. W. SHAW-CALDECOTT: "The Senkereh Tablet: The
Soss, the *Ell*, and the *Reed* of Babylonia."

Remarks were added by Dr. Löwy, Dr. Theo. D. Pinches,
Mr. C. Fox, Miss Ingram, Mr. Caldecott, and the Chairman.



THE PRÆFECTS OF EGYPT.

II.

BY SEYMOUR DE RICCI.

In the *Proceedings* of Dec., 1900 (XXII, pp. 374-383), I have published a list of the *Præfects of Egypt*, with a considerable number of references. Since then more papyri, new inscriptions, have been published, and my list is no more up to date.

On another side Professor Paul Meyer, in Berlin, and Professor Arthur Stein, in Vienna, have been kind enough to read carefully through my first article and to send me their observations. They have detected in it several errors and omissions, and I am thinking seriously of publishing anew the whole list of præfects. However, it will be sufficient, I think, for the present to do so *without* the formerly given references, mentioning only the new sources of information, and also a few recent articles on the subject published by Paul Meyer and Arthur Stein.*

1. GAIUS CORNELIUS GALLUS (30-26 B.C.). Killed himself in 26 B.C., according to Dio LIII, 23, 5-7, and Jerome's *Chronicles*, year 1990. See Dio Cassius LI, 10 and 17, LIII, 23; Inscription *Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad.*, 1896, p. 459. See Stein, in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie des classischen Altertums* IV, 1344.
2. GAIUS PETRONIUS (26-25 B.C.). Strabo XVII, 1; Dio Cassius LIV, 5.
3. GAIUS (?) AELIUS GALLUS (25-24 B.C.). Strabo XVI, 3; XVII 1; Dio Cassius LIII, 29.
4. GAIUS PETRONIUS (24-22 B.C.), for the second time. See Milne, *Hist.*, p. 217.
5. PUBLIUS RUBRIUS BARBARUS (13-12 B.C.). Inscription Wescher, *Bull. dell' Instituto* 1866, 44; Inscription C.I.L. III, 6588.

* Professor Meyer's articles are in the *Hermes*, Professor Stein's in the *Beiblatt* to the *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*.

6. GAIUS TURRANIUS (7-6 B.C.). The date of this præfect has been much discussed. The only question to be solved is the date of a Greek inscription from Philae (C.I.Gr. 4923 = Kaibel, *Epigrammata* 978.) Rohden and Dessau, *Prosopographia* III, 344, say that the copies hesitate between the fifteenth, twentieth, and twenty-third year of Augustus. They had doubtless not noticed that the inscription has been *three* times published since Franz's edition in the C.I.Gr., that all three copies are thoroughly reliable, and that all three give the reading: $\overline{\text{K}\Gamma} = 23$ (LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* VI, Vol. XII, pl. 88, gr. n. 255; Wescher, *Bull. dell Instituto*, 1866, p. 53; Puchstein, *Epigrammata graeca in Aegypto reperta*, p. 56, n. 28). The 23rd year of Augustus is B.C. 7-6. The only other text naming Turranius is a B.M. papyrus (Kenyon II, 164, n. 354,) not dated.
7. PUBLIUS OCTAVIUS (A.D. Sept. 1-Febr. 3). Inscription C.I.Gr., 4715; Inscription, Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* I, 137.
8. MARCUS MAGIUS MAXIMUS (under Augustus). Philo, *Adv. Flaccum* I.
9. GAIUS IULIUS AQUILA (A.D. 10-11). Josephus, *Ant. Ind.* XIX, 5, 2.
10. AEMILIUS RECTUS (A.D. 14). Suetonius, *Tiberius* 32; Dio Cassius LVII, 10.
11. LUCIUS SEIUS STRABO (A.D. 15-16). Dio Cassius LVII, 19. See Borghesi, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. X, p. 7.
12. GAIUS GALERIUS (A.D. 20-21). Inscription C.I.Gr. 4711; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XIX, 3. See Meyer, *Hermes* XXXII (1897), p. 210.
13. VITRASIUS POLLIO (A.D. 32). See Meyer, *l.c.*; Stein, *Oesterr. Jahreshefte* III (1900) *Beiblatt*, Col. 210.
14. TIBERIUS IULIUS SEVERUS (or IBERUS) (A.D. 32). Philo, *Adv. Flaccum* I. See Meyer, *l.c.*; Dio Cassius LVIII, 19.
15. AULUS AVILLIUS FLACCUS (A.D. 32-37?). Philo, *Adv. Flaccum* I; Inscription C.I.Gr., 4716. See *Hermes* XXXIII, 1898, p. 271.

16. NAEVIUS SERTORIUS MACRO (A.D. 37) was only appointed as præfect, and never took office. Dio LIX 10. See Borghesi, p. 9.
17. GAIUS VITRASII POLLIO (A.D. April, 39-41). Inscription Cagnat *C.R. Acad. Inscriptions* 1896, p. 39 (=C.I.L. III 14147¹). See Stein *Oesterr. Jahreshfte* III (1900) *Beiblatt*, Col. 210.
18. LUCIUS AEMILIUS RECTUS (A.D. 41-42). Inscription, Jouguet B.C.H. XIX (1895), p. 524 and XX (1896) p. 396. See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 211.
19. GAIUS IULIUS POSTUMUS (A.D. Aug. 45-47). Inscription C.I.Gr. 4957. See Meyer, *Heerwesen*, p. 229.

I may as well publish here the Latin inscription from Alexandria, now in the Athens Museum, and not yet edited. The squeeze I give my text from, was kindly sent to me from Rome by M. Paribeni.

Tall, slender letters, difficult to read:—

ARPHOCRA·G·IVLIPOSTVM|
 PRAEFECTIAEGYBTI LIBERT
 IVLIAEFLORAEFILIAESVAE
 ♀ FECIT ♂
 VIXSIT·ANNXI·ETMENSESV
 ETCASSIOPVDENTIAMICOSVO
 ETRESTITVTAESODALIFLORAE
 VIXSIT ANNOS VIII
 ETSIBIETSPONSAECONIVGISVAE

My copy is somewhat different from that given by Mommsen C.I.L. III, 14136¹ (not yet published). The inscription reads: *Arphocra, G(ai) Iuli Postumi Praefecti Aegypti (sic) libert(us) Iuliae Florae filiae suae fecit (quae) vixsit ann(os) xi et menses v et Cassio Pudenti amico suo et Restitutae sodali Florae (quae) vixsit annos viii et sibi et sponsae, coniugi suae.* The two last words, deeper cut

into the stone, do not appear to be of the same hand as the rest of the inscription, and were probably added later on.

20. GNAEUS VERGILIUS CAPITO (A.D. 47 to April 52). Inscription C.I.L. III, 6024; Inscription C.I.Gr. 4956; *Oxyrhynchus papyri* I, 38 and 39.
21. LUCIUS LUSIUS GETA (A.D. April 54). Inscription Milne *Hist.*, p. 58. See Stein, *Oesterr. Jahreshefte* III (1900) *Beiblatt*, Col. 22; T. Reinach *Rev. et. gr.* XIII (1900), p. 132; Borghesi X, p. 12.
22. TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS BALBILLUS (A.D. 55). Tacitus *Ann.* XIII, 22; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XIX, 3; Inscription C.I.Gr. 4699; Inscription C.I.Gr. 4957. See Stein, *Oesterr. Jahreshefte* III (1900) *Beiblatt* Col. 209.
23. [MARCUS METTIUS] MODESTUS (between Nero and Nerva). Suidas *s.v.* Ἐπιφροδίτος.
24. LUCIUS IULIUS VESTINUS (A.D. 59–July 61). Mentioned in a new papyrus from *Ashmūnēn* just published by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt in their splendid work *Amherst papyri*, Vol. II, to which I will continually refer in these pages. The name occurs in papyrus 68, line 20: *διωγράφω ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων δημοσίαν τράπεζαν τὴν κ[ελευσθεῖσα]ν τιμὴν ὑπὸ Λουκίου Ἰουλίου [Ο]ὕησ[τείνου το]ῦ ἡγεμόν[ος]* (A.D. 60).

I will also restore his name on a curious inscription in the Alexandria Museum, yet unpublished, although shortly described by Botti, *Notice . . . du musée d'Alexandrie*, p. 168, n. 2511. The following copy was kindly sent to me by Mr. J. G. Milne (*Alexandria Museum*, n. 107).

σ λει ἐπὶ Λουκίου Ἰου- ουστίνου ἐπαρχου Λ . . νερωνοσκλαυδίου σεβαστου γερμανικ αυτοκρατορος φαρμ	ΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΤΛΙΠΤΟ ΛΣΤΗΠΟ ΝΟΥ (read ΛΙΟΥ?) ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ ΥΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΟΥ ΟΥΘΙ ΚΘ
---	--

Another restitution could also be proposed.

[ἐπι . . .] νοῦν
 [ἐπαρχοῦ] Αἰγυπτίου
 [L n T εἶτο]ν καίσαρος
 [τοῦ κυρίου]
 [φάρμ]ουθι κθ'

Both are exceedingly hypothetical :—

L. Iulius Vestinus is also known by B.G.U. 112 ; Inscription, C.I.Gr. 4957 ; Inscription (weight from Koptos) Sayce *Rev. et. gr.* VII (1894), p. 204 ; Inscription from Talit, Petrie, *Illahun*, p. 30, Pl. XXXII ; Inscription, Botti, *Mus. Alex.*, p. 146. See Meyer, *Hermes* XXXII (1897), p. 211 ; XXXIII (1898), p. 271 ; *Heerwesen*, p. 229.

25. CAECINA TUSCUS (A.D. 66). Dio Cassius LXIII, 18 ; Tacitus, *Ann.* XIII, 20 ; Tacitus, *Hist.* III, 38. See Meyer, *Hermes* XXXII (1897), p. 211.

26. PONTICUS (A.D. 66). Unpublished Vienna papyrus, a τόμος ἐπικρίσεων of the thirteenth year of Nero (A.D. 66–67), in which the words ἐπικεκριμένος ὑπὸ Ποντικοῦ repeatedly occur. I owe this interesting item of information to the kindness of Mr. Arthur Stein, to whom a copy of the papyrus was sent by Mr. Wessely.

27. TIBERIUS IULIUS ALEXANDER (A.D. Sept. 68–July 69). Inscription, C.I.Gr. 4957 ; Tacitus, *Hist.*, I, 11 ; II, 79 ; Suetonius, *Vespasianus* 6 ; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* II, 15 and 18.

28. TIBERIUS IULIUS LUPUS (A.D. 71). Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* VII, 10 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XIX, 11.

29. VALERIUS PAULINUS (about A.D. 71), direct successor of Lupus. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* VII, 10.

30. GAIUS TETTIUS AFRICANUS (A.D. Febr. 82). Inscription, C.I.L. III, 35.

31. LUCIUS LABERIUS MAXIMUS (A.D. June 83).

32. URSUS (about A.D. 84). A new præfect mentioned only by an Amherst papyrus (II, 68, lines 39 and 67), where his cognomen Οὐρσος is alone quoted. A man bearing the

same name (Dio Cassius LXVII, 3 and 4; see *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* III, 491) played a prominent part during the reign of Domitian, and is said to have been consul in A.D. 84, though the actual date of his consulate must fall later if he is the same man as the *Ὀῖπρος* of the new papyrus; the identification is however doubtful.

33. GAIUS SEPTIMIUS VEGETUS (A.D. 86, Febr. 88). *Amherst papyri* II, 68, line 65 (cognomen only). Military Diploma C.I.L. III, p. 856; Inscription, Jouguet, B.C.H. XX (1896) p. 167; Suetonius, *Domitianus* 4. See Meyer, *Hermes* XXXII (1897), p. 212; Waddington, *apud* Borghesi X, p. 40, note 3; Meyer *Heerwesen*, p. 229.
34. MARCUS METTIUS RUFUS (A.D. Oct. 89–May 90) *Oxyrhynchus papyri* I, 72; Inscription, Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. XXVII; Inscription, C.I.L. III, 13580 (= Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3). Inscription, Jouguet, B.C.H. XX (1896) p. 245. See Stein, *Oesterr. Jahreshefte* II (1899); *Beiblatt*, Col. 108; Meyer, *Hermes* XXXII (1897), p. 212; *Heerwesen*, p. 229.
35. TITUS PETRONIUS SECUNDUS (A.D. March 95). Inscription, C.I.L. III, 37. See Borghesi X, p. 38.
36. GAIUS POMPEIUS PLANTA (A.D. 98–Febr. 99). Inscription, Cagnat, *C.R. Acad. Inscriptions*, 1896, p. 40 (= C.I.L. III, 14147²); B.G.U. 226; Inscription, Baillet, *Rev. Arch.* XIII (1889), p. 70; Pliny, *Epist. ad Traian*, 7 and 10 and 9, 1. See Meyer, *Hermes* XXXII (1897), p. 212.
37. GAIUS MINICIUS ITALUS (about A.D. 103). Inscription, C.I.L. V, 875; Inscription, Botti, *Mus. Alex.*, p. 70; B.G.U. 908. Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt always name him *Minucius*, instead of *Minicius* (*Fayûm towns*, p. 305; *Amherst* II, pp. 70, 71, 242). The reading *Μινυκίος* given by the Fayûm papyrus they refer to, would correspond to a Latin form *Minycius*, not *Minucius*. The name is therefore probably badly spelt on the papyrus. See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 213.
38. GAIUS VIBIUS MAXIMUS (A.D. Aug. 103–March, 107), *Amherst papyri* II, 64 and 65 (*Ὀῖβίσιος Μάξιμος*); Inscription, Botti, *Mus. Alex.*, p. 70; Inscription, C.I.L. III, 38; B.G.U., 329. See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 213.

39. GAIUS FLAVIUS SULPICIUS SIMILIS (sometimes called Σίμωλος,) A.D. Aug. 107–Nov. 109). *Amherst papyri* II, 64 and 65; *Oxyrhynchus papyri* II, 237, Col. IV, VI, VIII; Inscription, C.I.L. III, 24 (= Inscription, C.I.Gr. 4713 c); B.G.U. 140; *Fayûm towns*, p. 272, n. 117; Inscription, C.I.Gr. 4714. See Meyer, *Hermes* XXXII (1897, p. 218 (date of B.G.U. 140); Borghesi X, p. 42.

Stein has given good reasons (*Oesterr. Jahreshefte* III, 1900; *Beiblatt*, Col. 209) to consider the præfect FLAVIUS SULPICIUS SIMILIS, named in the *Oxyrhynchus papyri*, and previously ascribed to the 23rd year of Commodus, as the same man as the well known præfect of Trajan's time, GAIUS SULPICIUS SIMILIS. This conjecture had also been put forward by Prof. Grenfell (see my first article, No. 58, p. 381).

The new papyrus (Amherst 64) just published by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt is most important for the chronology of the præfects; it shows conclusively:—

- a. That Vibius Maximus was still præfect in March, 107.
- b. That Sulpicius Similis was already præfect in August, 107.
- c. Minicius Italus was not præfect in A.D. 108, as generally supposed.
- d. That Meyer's *Dioscurus* was apparently not a præfect (Meyer, *Hermes* XXXII, 1897, p. 214).

40. MARCUS RUTILIUS LUPUS (A.D. March 114—Jan. 117). *Amherst papyri* II, 70: τοῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος Ρουτίλ[ίου Λ]ούπου; Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.* IV, 2; Inscription, C.I.Gr. 4948; B.G.U. 114; *Oxyrhynchus papyri* I, n. 97; *Cattani papyrus*; Botti, *Rivista Egiziana* VI (1894) p. 531. See Meyer, *Hermes* XXXII (1897), p. 216.

Mr. Stein most kindly informs me he has received from Mr. Wessely a copy of an unpublished Vienna papyrus naming M. Rutilius Lupus as præfect as early as the month of Phamenoth of the 17th year of Trajan (=February–March 114).

41. QUINTUS MARCIUS TURBO FRONTO PUBLICIUS SEVERUS (A.D. 117). Only a titular præfect. Dio Cassius LXIX, 18. See Meyer, *loc.*, p. 217; Borghesi X, p. 45.

42. QUINTUS RAMMIUS MARTIALIS (A.D. April, 118). The inscription published by Botti, *bull. soc. arch. Alex.* I (1898), p. 45, (=C.I.L. III, 14137¹), is not from Bubastis as wrongly stated by Cagnat, *Rev. arch.* XXXIII (1898), p. 436, n. 91, but from *Fouah*. Here is the text of the inscription (Botti's copy of a squeeze).

Q · RAMMIO
MARTIALI
PRAEF · AEG
A · RVTILIVS · CILO
OPTIO SPECVL
O · M ·

Q(uinto) Rammio Martiali praef(ecto) Aeg(ypti)
A(ulus) Rutilius Cilo optio specul(atorum)
o(b) m(erita).

Rammius Martialis is also mentioned, C.I.Gr. 4713. See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 218.

43. TITUS HATERIUS NEPOS (A.D. Febr. 121–April 124). Inscription, C.I.L. III, 39; B.G.U. 742; *Corpus papyrorum Raineri* 18. See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 219.
44. TITUS FLAVIUS TITIANUS (A.D. March 126–Aug. 131). Unpublished Louvre papyrus, n. 10361. Inscription, C.I.L. III, 41; *Oxyrhynchus papyri* I, n. 34; B.G.U. 420; B.G.U. 459; *Fayûm towns*, p. 143, n. 32. See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 219; *Heerwesen*, pp. 146 and 229.
45. MARCUS PETRONIUS MAMERTINUS (A.D. Nov. 133–Feb. 135). Inscription, C.I.L. III, 41; Inscription, C.I.L. III, 77; B.G.U. 19; B.G.U. 114. See Borghesi X, p. 48; Meyer, *Hermes* XXXII (1897), p. 219; *Heerwesen*, p. 229.
46. VALERIUS EUDAEMON (A.D. 137–139). *Oxyrhynchus papyri* I, n. 40. Is apparently *not* the *procurator idiologu* mentioned in the *Cattani papyrus*, Col. IV (Botti, *Rivista Egiziana* VI, 1894, p. 531); *Fayûm towns*, 257.

47. GAIUS AVIDIUS HELIODORUS (A.D. March 139–May 143)–
Inscription, C.I.L. III, 6025; *Cattaui papyrus*, Col. IV;
Inscription, Cagnat, *C.R. Acad. Inscriptians* 1896, p. 41
(=C.I.L. III, 14147³); B.G.U. 729; B.G.U. 113; B.G.U.
256; B.G.U. 747; Inscription, C.I.Gr. III, 4955. See
Meyer, *Hermes* XXXII (1897), p. 220.
48. LUCIUS VALERIUS PROCULUS (A.D. 145–147). Inscription
C.I.L. II, 1970; B.G.U. 288. See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 222 and
XXXIII (1898), p. 265; *Heerwesen*, pp. 146 and 229.
Either Proculus or Munatius Felix is mentioned C.I.Gr.
4863, col. III (Stein, *Hermes* XXXII, 1897, p. 665). See
also Stein, *Oesterr. Jahreshefte* II (1899), *Beiblatt*, Col. 107.
49. MARCUS PETRONIUS HONORATUS (A.D. 147–Jan. 148).
B.G.U. 265; B.M. papyrus, Kenyon II, p. 171, n. 358.
Unpublished Latin tablet on wood in the Bodleian Library.
See Meyer, *Hermes* XXXII (1897), p. 222.
50. LUCIUS MUNATIUS FELIX (A.D. Sept. 151). Justinus Martyr,
Apolog. I, 29 (= Migne, P.G. VI, Col. 373); Inscription,
Daressy, *Recueil de travaux* XVI, 1894, p. 44; B.G.U.
161; B.G.U. 448; B.G.U. 613; B.M. papyrus, Kenyon II,
p. 171, n. 358. See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 223.
51. DINARCHUS (?) (about A.D. 153). A præfect named Δειναρχος
in a passage from Malalas, *Chronogr.* XI, 367 (=Migne
P.G. XCVII, Col. 424) shown to be corrupt by Paul
Meyer, who proposes a striking emendation of it and
identifies the man with Sempronius Liberalis. Arthur
Stein, however, has given good reasons to believe that the
præfect I name *Dinarchus* merely for sake of convenience,
was not Liberalis but an unknown præfect, his immediate
predecessor (perhaps Munatius Felix?). See Meyer, *l.c.*,
pp. 221, 224 and Stein in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie*
IV, 2388, 3.
52. MARCUS SEMPRONIUS LIBERALIS (A.D. Aug. 154–? Oct. 158).
Unpublished Greek inscription from Thebes (May 156);
B.G.U. 372; B.G.U. 696; B.G.U. 447 (=26); B.G.U.
904. See Meyer, *l.c.*, pp. 221 and 224.

53. TITUS FURIUS VICTORINUS (about A.D. 160) (= *Prosopogr.* II, 102). Unpublished inscription from Tyre; Ligorian forgery, C.I.L. VI, 1937* = Gruter, 414, 8; *Vita Marci* 14. See Borghesi X, pp. 57 and 171.

Monsieur Héron de Villefosse will publish the above mentioned inscription from Tyre in this year's *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France*. He has been kind enough to allow me to copy the text from a squeeze in his possession and to insert it here; large well cut letters:—

ΤΔΦΟΥΡΙΩΙ
 ΟΥΙΚΤΩΡΕΙΝΩΙ
 ΕΠΑΡΧΩΙΑΙΓΥΠΤΟ
 ΕΠΑΡΧΩΙΠΡΑΙΤΩΡΙΟΥ
 ΦΟΡΤΟΥΝΑΤ°CCEΡΙΟΥ
 ΑΠΕΛΔ'ΑΡΧΙΤΑΒΛΑΡΙΟΥ
 ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΣ
 ΠΡΟΣΟΔΩΝΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ

Τ(ιτωι) Φουριωι Ουικτωρεινωι ἐπάρχωι Αιγυπτου[ν]
 ἐπάρχωι πραιτωριου Φορτουνατος Σέρτω[ν] ἀπελ(ευθερος)
 ἀρχιταξ(ου)λυριου[ς] ἐπιτροπος προσοδων Ἀλεξανδρ[είου]

54. POSTUMUS (A.D. 161). B.G.U. 57 and 388. See Stein, *Hermes* XXXII (1897), p. 666.
55. LUCIUS VOLUSIUS MAECIANUS (A.D. Nov. 161–March 162). B.G.U. 613. See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 227; Stein, *ibid.*, p. 664; Meyer, *Hermes* XXXIII (1898) p. 262; Stein, *Oesterr. Jahreshefte* II (1899), *Beiblatt*, Col. 107; *ibid.* III (1900) Col. 222.
56. MARCUS ANNIUS SURIACUS (A.D. April 162–Feb. 163). B.G.U. 198; B.G.U. 762; Grenfell, *Greek papyri* II, n. 56. Inscription, Cagnat, *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1896, p. 41 (= C.I.L. III, 14147⁴); B.M. Papyrus, Kenyon II, p. 75,

- n. 328. Perhaps also *Fayûm torens*, p. 144, n. 33 (July 163). See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 225; Stein, *ibid.*, p. 666; Meyer, *Herewesen*, p. 229.
57. TITUS FLAVIUS TITIANUS (A.D. 164–May 166). Inscription, C.I.Gr. 4701. See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 226 and *Hermes* XXXIII (1898), p. 272.
58. MARCUS BASSAEUS RUFUS (A.D. 168–169), B.G.U. 903. Inscription, C.I.L. VI, 1599. See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 226; Borghesi X, 57.
59. GAIUS FLAVIUS CALVISIUS STATIANUS (A.D. 171 (?), or rather 174–Oct. 175), B.G.U. 347 (?). Inscription, Botti, *Mus. Alex.*, p. 101 (= C.I.L. III, 12048); Dio Cassius LXXI, 28. See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 226; Stein, *ibid.*, p. 664.
60. GAIUS CAECILIUS SALVIANUS, a vice-praefect (A.D. April 176), B.G.U. 327. Geneva papyrus, n. 4 (?); B.M. Papyrus, Kenyon II, p. 173, n. 198. See Meyer *l.c.*, p. 227; Stein, *Oesterr. Jahreshefte* III (1900), *Beiblatt*, Col. 212, and *Archiv. für Papyrusforschung* I (1901), p. 447 (see p. 305); Meyer, *Herewesen*, p. 146.
61. TITUS PACTUMEIUS MAGNUS (A.D. Aug. 176–180). Inscription, C.I.Gr. 4704. B.G.U. 525. See Meyer *l.c.*, p. 228.
62. FLAVIUS PRISCUS (A.D. 181), B.G.U. 12. Perhaps also named B.G.U. 142 and 143. See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 228.
63. VETURIUS MACRINUS (A.D. June 181–183), B.G.U. 847. *Vita Didii Iuliani*, 7, 5. (See *Prosopogr.* III, 417, Meyer, *Berl. philol. Wochenschr.*, 1901, col. 245, and Borghesi X, 78.) It is to this praefect that we must refer the Greek inscription from Xoïs (Gizeh Museum, n. 9288), referred to in my first article (No. 59 . . . *rinus*), and recently published by Mr. Milne in the XXIst volume of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, p. 275. The following is my copy of a photo kindly sent by Mr. Milne and completed in several places with the help of his note book, also for the present time in my hands :

[υ π ε] Ρ Ϛ Ω Τ Η Ρ Ι Α Ϛ [κ α ι]
 Δ Ι Α Μ Ο Ν Η Σ Τ Ο Υ Κ Υ Ρ Ι Ο Υ
 Η Μ Ω Ν Α Υ Τ Ο Κ Ρ Α Τ [ο] Ρ [ο ς]
 Κ Α Ι Σ Α Ρ Ο Σ Μ Α Ρ Κ Ο Υ Α Υ [ρ η] Λ Ι Ο Υ
 [κ ο μ μ ο δ ο υ] Α Ν Τ Ω [ν ι] Ν Ο [ν]
 Σ Ε Β Α Σ Τ Ο Υ Ε Υ Σ Ε Β Ο [υ ς κ α ι] Τ Ο Υ
 Σ Υ Ν Π Α Ν Τ Ο Σ Α Υ Τ Ο [ν] Ο Ι Κ Ο Υ
 Ν Ε Μ Ε Σ Ι Α Ν Ο Σ Α Ρ Ε Ι Ο Υ Τ Ο Υ Π Ο [σ ε ι δ ω ν ι ο υ ?]
 Σ Ω Σ Ι Κ Ο Σ Μ Ι Ο Σ Ο Κ Α Ι Α Λ Θ Α Ι Ε Υ Σ Ε [ν α ρ χ ο ς]
 Γ Υ Μ Ν Α Σ Ι Α Ρ Χ Ο Σ Τ Η Σ Ξ Ο Ι Τ Ω Ν Π Ο Λ Ε Ω Σ
 Α Ν Ε Θ Η Κ Α Τ Ο Ν Α Ν Δ Ρ Ι Α Ν Τ Α Τ Ο Υ Π Ο Λ Ι Ε Ω Σ
 Σ Α Ρ Α Π Ι Δ Ο Σ Ε Π Ι Δ Ο Υ Σ Ε Ι Σ Τ Ο Υ Τ Ο Μ Ε Τ Α Τ Ο
 Ε Ξ Ε Θ Ο Υ Σ Δ Ι Δ Ο Μ Ε Ν Ο Ν Κ Α Ι Τ Ο Λ Ο Ι Π [ο ν]
 Α Ν Α Λ Ω Θ Ε Ν Δ Α Π Α Ν Η Μ Α [εκφ] Ι Λ Ο Τ Ι Μ Ι Α Σ
 Ε Π Ι Ο Υ Ε Τ Ο Υ Ρ Ι Ο Υ Μ Α Κ Ρ Ι Ν Ο Υ Ε Π Α Ρ Χ Ο Υ Α Ι Γ Υ Π Τ Ο Υ
 Ε Π Ι Σ Τ Ρ Α Τ Η Γ Ο Υ Ν Τ Ο Σ Α Υ Ρ Η Λ Ι Ο Υ Ι Α Σ Ο Ν Ο Σ
 Σ Τ Ρ Α Τ Η Γ Ο Υ Ν Τ Ο Σ Α Ρ Τ Ε Μ Ι Δ Ω Ρ Ο Υ
 Ε Τ Ο Υ Σ ΚΑ Ε Π Ε Ι Φ Ι

A.D. 4th July, 181-

The letters given as pointed are broken or doubtful on the stone.

Missing letters are within brackets. The name Κομμοδου in line 5 and the beginning of the name Ονετουριου Μακρινου in line 15 have been deliberately erased.

(To be continued.)

EUSEBIUS AND COPTIC CHURCH HISTORIES.

BY W. E. CRUM, *M.A.*

Eusebii Historiam Ecclesiasticam aut librum de Martyribus Palaestinae vidisse eum vix credibile est. So Renaudot, in discussing the sources of the often cited but seldom read history of the Alexandrine church compiled in the latter part of the 10th century by Severus, bishop of Eshmunên.

We have indeed no evidence that Severus understood Greek; that would be an improbable accomplishment for an Egyptian monophysite in so late an age. We may doubt whether he even used any Arabic translations made directly from the Greek. But it has long been recognised that his claim to have procured at any rate Arabic versions of Coptic works was authentic. Quatremère pointed this out in the case of the biography of Isaac,¹ the forty-first patriarch, and G. Krüger as regards the so-called 'Memoirs of Dioscorus,'² while Von Lemm has shown³ that many passages of Severus, as reproduced by Renaudot's Latin, are practically identical with the Coptic (S'iadic) of Zoega's MS. CLX. There can, therefore, be little doubt that in the latter MS. we have a copy of one of the documents drawn upon by Severus, after its translation, made, as he tells us, by one of the clergy of his nation.

The passages preserved in the extant leaves of this Coptic volume all relate to epochs posterior to Eusebius, and the question as to the influence of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* on Severus did not therefore come within Von Lemm's enquiries. But it is remarkable that Renaudot, who was acquainted with Severus's entire work, does not (so far at least as I have observed) call attention to the obvious existence of an Eusebian text or paraphrase whence considerable passages, in the earlier part of the History, are more or less exactly borrowed. How many debts of this sort Severus owes I cannot say, for I have not examined his account of all the corresponding period. Two conspicuous examples, however, are the passage

¹ *Recherches, etc.*, 35.² *Monoph. Streitigkeiten*, 16.³ *Mém. de l'Acad. impér.*, XXXVI (1888).

inserted in the biography of Demetrius = *H. E.*, VI, 4 *sqq.* (as far at any rate as 10) and that appended to the life of Maximus = *H. E.*, VII, 30 and 32. A good deal of both these excerpts treats, it is true, of Alexandrian affairs; but Severus does not omit those of Jerusalem, Antioch, Laodicea etc., as Eusebius narrates them.

I am not in a position to discuss Renaudot's methods; we may look for an estimate of these in Mr. Evetts's forthcoming edition of Severus. My present object is to draw attention to the hitherto unnoticed remnants of a Coptic version of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Versions of that work in the other Christian languages of the East have long been known; the absence in Egypt of any but the scanty remnants here to be described may be due to those external causes which have deprived us of so much early Coptic literature, or possibly the personal history of the author may have hindered any wide popularity of his work among the compatriots of Athanasius.

The Coptic texts in question are preserved in the fragments of one of the finest among the countless parchment volumes that once adorned the library of the White Monastery.¹ They are now in Paris and bear the numbers "MS. copte 129¹⁴, foll. 92, 96, 97, 98, 144." The leaf is unusually large: 39.5 × 30 cm. (somewhat more when undamaged), and the number of lines is 40-43 in each column. Foll. 98, 144 are fragmentary; fol. 96 is paged 319, 320 and the text of fol. 97 shows that it was pp. 321, 322. The script is of one of the Sa'idic types most frequent (*v.* Ciasca, *Sacr. Bibl. Fragg.*, tab. XIII, and Hyvernât, *Album*, pl. XI, 2) and most surely datable; for two colophons from MSS. in exactly similar hands (Paris, 129¹³, 41, and 131³, 38) were written in A.D. 920+? and 940 respectively, and were presented in those years to this same monastery.² In all material respects therefore our MS. was a companion volume to that of the *Apophthegmata*, which came from this same library.

These five leaves, which we shall here call MS. A, stand in their proper sequence as follows:—

- Fol. 92 = Eusebius, *H. E.*, IV, 7. 2-9.
- „ 144 = „ „ IV, 29. 4, 5.
- „ 96 = Archelaus and Manes + *H. E.*, VII, 31, 32. 1, 2.
- „ 97 = *H. E.*, VII, 32. 3, 30. 22, 32. 5-9.
- „ 98 = Not Eusebius (*v. below*).

¹ *V.* final colophon at end of following translations.

² Both these were written by caligraphists at (or from) Toutôn in the Fayyûm; cf. Amélineau in *Not. et Extr.*, XXXIV (ii), Quatremère, *Recherches*, 249.

In the following translations two significant colophons will be found. That at the end of fol. 144 states that Book IV of the Church History ends there, *i.e.*, the extent of this book was coincident with that of Eusebius's fourth book. Moreover, a rough computation, based upon the amount of text contained in one of our leaves and that on a printed page of the *H. E.*, ed. Dindorf¹ (Teubner, 1890), makes it at any rate possible that the MS. **A** originally began with the beginning of the *H. E.*

Before dealing with the other colophon, fol. 98*b*, we must return to the MS. to which we have already referred: Zoega's No. CLX, to be here called MS. **B**. The script of this MS. is peculiar; Hyvernât, *Album*, pl. XII, 3, shows a heading from it; but the letters elsewhere are upright, not sloping. I think it one or two centuries younger than the script of **A**. Its language, too, is incorrect and so probably late. Von Lemm, in discussing the text, had at his disposal only the leaves described by Zoega. Besides these, several more are now available (Paris 131¹⁵. 16, 129¹³. 81, 129¹⁴. 73, 129¹³. 57, Brit. Mus. Or. 3581 B. 36, Paris 129¹⁴. 72) making twenty-seven leaves in all. This MS. is likewise part of a church history; what now remains of it relates principally to the following subjects² (in this order): Athanasius and the Arians, the Emperors Julian and Jovian, Theophilus of Alexandria, the Emperor Valens, *Arsenius and his sister and royal pupils, Timothy Aelurus and Timothy Salophaciolus, Chrysostom and Eudoxia*,³ Pulcheria, Cyril, *the Council of Chalcedon*. The parts here in *italics* are those contained in the newly-added leaves. Presumably the MS. also had colophons closing its main sections, like those in MS. **A**; at any rate, it had titles at the opening of each, for Zoega gives (p. 262) that of Book XI, which, being on p. 67 of the MS., shows that the work was originally in more than one volume. The highest extant page-number is 208, on the last leaf (Council of Chalcedon).

I propose to regard these MSS., **A** and **B**, either as two copies of one work, or as two compilations both embodying portions of the same material. The reasons pointing to a relationship between them are, firstly, that in the history of Severus we have found Arabic translations of Coptic passages from both MSS.—of the Eusebian texts in **A** and (as Von Lemm demonstrated) of various

¹ P. 322 of the Coptic MS. = about p. 341 in Dindorf.

² A full analysis of his fragments is given by Zoega, p. 257, ff.

³ This fragment published by Amélineau, *Miss.* iv, 814.

passages in **B**; and, secondly, that the text of one of **B**'s leaves (Paris 129¹⁴. 73) appears to end with the very words with which a leaf of **A** (Paris 129¹⁴. 98) begins.

Now this same leaf of **A** has preserved a colophon marking the end of Book XII of the Church History, and that is followed by a scribe's note which proves indisputably that the twelfth was the concluding book of the whole work. The History ended then with the re-establishment of Timothy Aelurus upon the patriarchal throne, A.D. 475, having covered—if we accept the proposed union of MSS. **A** and **B**—the whole of the Church's history in twelve books, the earlier of which consisted largely of translations from Eusebius.¹

The problem connected with the work is, of course, that of authorship. To whom can we ascribe such a history? (1) We cannot, indeed, claim for it an exclusively Egyptian character, for even these extant fragments narrate events in various parts of the empire; yet Egyptian affairs appear to be especially familiar and interesting to the writer. (2) The events with which the work (*i.e.*, its twelfth book) ends are, we may suppose, contemporary with the writer.² (3) The writer is clearly a Monophysite; *cf.* his accounts of Marcian, Chalcedon and the two Timothy's.

There is—or was—an ecclesiastical history, the author of which might sufficiently answer our requirements. The *Plerophorias* of John of Maiûma twice quote³ the Ecclesiastical History of Timothy Aelurus; it is also given among the sources of the *Chronicle* of Michael the Great.⁴ Our present work was composed—assuming its author to have brought the narrative down to his own day—after Timothy's return from exile, 475, and presumably before his death, 477, since there is no reference to that

¹ Zoega's fragments of **B** show the contents of the pages immediately preceding Bk. XI; they treat of Athanasius etc. Not all therefore of the *H. E.* was appropriated—not, at least, in its original arrangement of 10 books.

² The words of the colophon MS. **A**, f. 98^b, cannot bear upon the date of the work itself. "Until this day" cannot, in the mouth of a 10th century scribe, have any reference to a narrative brought to a close 500 years earlier—unless we are to suppose the donation to the monastery to have been made in the 5th century (Shenoute, its founder, only died 451) and this colophon to have existed bodily in the older MS. whence ours was copied.

³ Nos. XXXIII, XXXVI (*Rev. de l'Or. chr.*, III). The anecdotal style of these extracts is quite in keeping with that of our Coptic texts (MS. **B**).

⁴ So Nau, *Rev. de l'Or. chr.*, *l.c.*; but it does not appear in the list of sources in Chabot's ed., nor in the Karshuni version (*v.* Nau, *Journ. As.* '96. ii, 524).

event. It will be noticed too that, in the list here given of works composed by Timothy during exile, his Ecclesiastical History does not figure, presumably because not yet composed. That the writer of such a work should thus describe his own career does not seem a final argument against Timothy's authorship, though the doings of this patriarch might indeed be narrated in a favourable light by any monophysite writer.

A pertinent objection to the Timothean authorship would be that Severus, who used the earlier parts of our Coptic work, does not draw upon it for his account of Timothy himself, of whom indeed he has hardly a word to tell us. And it may be further objected that Timothy would have talked of himself with less restraint than is here the case; that he would not call himself ἄγιος and that he returned from exile too aged and lived too short a time for the composition of so long a work.

We have, I suppose, to assume that the work, if Timothy's, was composed in Greek. Fragments of his dogmatic writings are extant in that language, and those preserved in Syriac are but translations. Indeed no other language is to be expected in an educated Alexandrine cleric of that age. Our Coptic text, therefore, would be a translation and thus certain obscurities and confusions may have their explanation.

This brings us to examine the work of the Coptic translator. As regards the version of Eusebius, preserved in MS. A, it would be difficult to speak too badly of it. Not only are all passages either misrepresented or ignored in which length of the sentences or unfamiliarity of words might excuse mistakes, but quite simple clauses are equally ill-treated, phrases entirely omitted and names exchanged or miswritten where nothing but carelessness seems to be the cause. For the criticism of the Greek text such a version can be of scarcely any value. The quality of the non-Eusebian portions is somewhat higher. Certain of the mistakes indicate, I think, that MS. A is the product of dictation: *εἰ μήτι* is written where the original has *οὐοὐ ἔτι*, *ἐκιδόχος* is mistaken for *ἐκιδόλος*, perhaps *ὁρομάσαι* for *ὠρόμασε* and *ἐήπου* for *τίπη*; while for *unte* the scribe heard *mntone*, so giving us "eleven" for "fifteen." Further, such forms as *Zôgratôs* for *Sôkrates*, *τροφα* for *τρέφε(ω)*, *τημος* for *ἐημος* are probably due, here as elsewhere, to the same cause.

The remarkable misplacement of *H. E.*, VII, 30. 22, in the midst of *ib.* 32, is important as a proof that Severus used this very com-

pilation; for in his Arabic rendering¹ this same misplacement occurs. But, on the other hand, it is evident that Severus, although probably a contemporary of the writer of MS. A, did not employ it,² for he has the mention of Probus, from *H. E.*, VII, 30. 22, which our Coptic MS. has (no doubt accidentally) omitted.

Something should be said as to the fragmentary account of Manes here preserved. Severus's version of the *Disputatio Archelai* has been several times discussed³ and is recognized as diverging considerably from the other extant versions.⁴ The extent of the divergence, specially prominent in the account of the benevolent Marcellus, will be evident when Mr. Evetts's edition is before us.⁵ The present Coptic text shows the form of the legend whence Severus translated; but his Arabic stops short with Manes's death, so omitting what follows in the Coptic, *viz.*, *H. E.*, VII, 31. 1. Here and there the Coptic reading seems corrupt, the Arabic merely simplifying what was unintelligible. What the significance here of the title *πάππας*, applied to Archelaus and Juvenalis, may be I will leave others to decide.⁶

The following translations, following Prof. Nestle's example, have been made as closely literal as bare intelligibility permitted. I have translated all the five leaves of MS. A, but only those of MS. B which relate to Monophysite affairs.

The reader may be reminded that a Coptic translator by no means binds himself to the use of only those Greek words which his original contains. Many will accordingly be found here besides those from the text of Eusebius, whose words are even occasionally replaced by other Greek expressions more or less synonymous. The incorrect Greek forms are not reproduced here.

Paris 129¹⁴, f. 92 = Eusebius, *H. E.* IV, 7. 2.

For all whom they could beguile (*απαταν*), excepting (*εμμητι*) those

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. 26,100, f. 25a, *infra*.

² He says that he used the MSS. of the Nitrian monastery of Macarius and of that at Nahya (W. of Cairo), but also those of "the monasteries of the Sa'id." This might include the White Monastery.

³ *E.g.* by Beausobre, *Histoire critique*, I, 148, later by K. Kessler, *Mani* (1889), 125, 142, 168.

⁴ A newly-found version is that in Michael's *Chronicle*, ed. Chabot, 198, which much resembles that of Theodore bar Koni (end of 9th century); *v.* Pognon, *Inscr. Mandaites*, 183.

⁵ Many points of interest are ignored in Renaudot's summary.

⁶ *Cf.* Harnack in Berlin *Sitzungs.*, 1900, 590.

⁷ *Cf.* ὁμοῦ δὲ?

that were without belief in the faith (πίστις) because of the (things) they did, those they set about turning away from the word of salvation. [3] Through *the (deeds?) of this pestilent (λοιμός) man,* Menandros, who was the successor (ἐπαχθολός¹) of Simôn,—he whom we² have treated of (*lit.*, laid down) formerly, whose mouth was like the mouth of the serpent, as if he had two heads, a power *of the devil (ἐμβαβολός)* having entered into him—he set up leaders (αρχηγούς) for two heresies (αἵρεσις), differing one from another: Sardonilon (*sic*), a man of Antioch (Ἀντιοχία) by his race (γένος), and Basilites, a man from Rakote (= Alexandria). These he did establish, the one (μὲν) for Syria (Συρία) and (ἐν) the other for Kême (= Egypt), in a God-hating doctrine. [4] Nay more,³ Sardonile (*sic*) uttered lying words of his teacher Menandros; whose fashion (σχῆμα) Ierénnaïos his teacher (*sic*) has displayed⁴ [7 illegible lines.] beyond (παρα) measure, himself setting up heresies (αἵρεσις) and making (πλασσειν) fables. [5] There was a multitude of men of the churches (ἐκκλησία) contending (αγωνίζειν) for the truth at that time, reasonable (λογικός) men, fighting for the wishes of the Apostles' (ἀποστόλος) church (ἐκκλησία). For (γὰρ) they are trustworthy in their writings, which they left for them that came after them, like places-of-safety, displaying (ἐηλουν) therein these heresies (αἵρεσις), that we should keep ourselves from them. [6] So have their writings come down to us through the (*MS.* their) writers (συγγραφεύς) of that time, namely Agrippas, a more competent (ικανός) than he being Kastôr,⁵ shaming Basilites after revealing the greatness of his sorcery [9 lines illegible] . These he termed⁶ the prophets (προφήτης) and one he named Barkaban, the other he named Barkôb and others, making them for himself they not having any truth nor (οὐτε) stability; and calling some among them barbarians (βαρβαρούς), for (προς) a wonder to them that should fall into their hands *(and) for making their name renowned* (and) teaching to eat what-is-sacrificed to idols (εἰδωλόν) without hesitation. And he conjured them⁷ not to keep the faith (πίστις) in the time of the persecutions (ἐιωγμός), bidding those that came to him to pass five years in silence without speaking, according to the doctrine (ἐσχημα)

* * Not in Greek.

¹ MS., διαβολός.

² MS., he. Due to carelessness.

³ For τὰ πλεῖστα.

⁴ For ὁ Εἰρηναῖος δηλοῖ, προσχίματι . . .

⁵ For Ἀγρίππα Κάστορος ἱκανώτατος.

⁶ Taking ὀνομάσαι for ὠνόμασι?

⁷ For ἐξομνημένους.

of Pethagoras, [8] and other things, like to these, teaching men thus, saying, 'These are the things that Basilites does.' These (things) he said whose name we have indicated, they being a product of the heresy (αἵρεσις) of which we have formerly spoken, when their deception (πλυνη) was seen. [9] Ierênnaïos likewise writes: 'There was in the time (χρονος) of these another man, Kaprôkratôr,¹ belonging to another heresy (αἵρεσις) which is named Gnôstikos, being father to them. And the (heresies) of Simôn too he did not hide as (ὡς) that one had done, but (αλλα) did rather exhibit them, as scourges (μαστιξ²) to them that accepted them, as if they were (?) great matters, boasting too of their magical doings and having love for them (λίτ., making them beloved of them), being dream-givers, cleaving to the daemons (δαίμων³), and other things of this sort. But (ἐε) these he did and he taught that it was needful to do them. Every shameful thing they did say in their teaching to them that came to them (*MS.* to him *or* it), doing every filthy thing, so as (ωστε) not [*sic expl.*]

Fol. 144 = *H. E.* IV, 29 4.

. a little [after this] Severos [took possession of] the heresy (αἵρεσις) of which [we have] formerly spoken became a cause (αἰτιος) we showed (ἐηλουν) therein, whom they call Severians (Σεvehριωνος), having adopted (λίτ., having been in) his name. [5] These do indeed (μεν) read in the Law (νομος) and the Prophets (προφητης) and the Gospels (εὐαγγελιον), but (αλλα) they interpret (ἐρμηνευειν) the holy scriptures (γραφη) in accordance with (κατα) their wicked opinions, blaspheming Paul the Apostle (αποστολος), rejecting his Epistles (επιστολη); nor (ουε) do they accept the Acts (πραξις) of the Apostles (αποστολος) [*End of col. 1. Only parts of last six lines of col. 2 remain*] by the Greeks (ἐλλην) Moses testimony of . . . Ioustinos,⁴ showing (λίτ., persuading) that Moses is old[er] (? αρχαιος) [fol. b, equally imperfect.] oration (λογος) dialogue (διαλογος) [about] interpretation (*sic* ἐρμηνει⁵)

¹ The Copts are familiar with forms like παντοκράτωρ, κοσμοκράτωρ.

² For μαγείας? Otherwise inexplicable.

³ For παρίδρως τισὶ δαίμοσι?

⁴ Cf. Pseudo-Justin, *Cohort. ad Graec.*, IX, XII. This reference does not appear in any other text that I have seen. It is uncertain whether Eusebius cites the work at all (*v.* Harnack, *Gesch.*, 106).

⁵ For εἰμαρμενη.

[to] Antonios (*sic*) the king, which is very powerful, [he having spoken?] too because that (?) a great [persecution] [*End of col. 1.*] [Sô]têr, the bishop (*ἐπισκοπος*) of Rome (*Ῥωμη*) went to rest:—

The fourth History (*ἱστορία*) of the holy Church (*ἐκκλησία*). It is finished, in the peace (*εἰρήνη*) of God. Amen.

Foll. 96, 97 = pp. 319-322.

. like these But (*ἐπεὶ*) [Archê]laos the bishop (*ἐπισκοπος*) said to him, 'If I confound thee according to (*κατὰ*) thy wickedness, thou wilt (still) speak to me, contending for thy heresy (*αἵρεσις*).¹ But (*ἀλλὰ*) stay and I will call to thee the heathen (*ἔθνος*) that know not the God of heaven, and I will make them confound thee from thine own words.' And so he sent forthwith for a sophist (*σοφιστής*) and he made them sit down. The bishop said to them, 'Have ye books of your doctrine (*δόγμα*), (whereof) ye receive one passage (*μέρος*), but (*ἐπεὶ*) another ye reject and do not accept?'² But (*ἐπεὶ*) they said, 'Not thus. Either (*ἢ*) we are of one mind (*γινώμῃ*) to accept the whole book, or (*ἢ*) if not, we do not accept nor (*ἢ*) touch the book at all.' But he replied, 'This man proclaims himself, saying, I am the (man) of Christ. He said to me, 'We, since (*ἐπεὶ*) we believe (*πιστεύομεν*) not on him, do not venture (*τολμᾶν*) to touch him or to bid touch any of his books.' But (*ἐπεὶ*) when the multitude of them that heard saw the impudence (*τολμηρότης*) of his wicked words which he spoke, they prepared to slay him. But (*ἐπεὶ*) Archêlaos the bishop (*ἐπισκοπος*) permitted them not, saying, 'Others shall take vengeance on him.' And he sent him forth from the city (*πόλις*) saying, 'Let them not find thee within their borders.' But (*ἐπεὶ*) after that he had gone forth from that place, he entered into a town wherein was a kindly priest (*πρεσβύτερος*) and with him he dwelt. But (*ἐπεὶ*) when he had remained about the space of a month, he began (*ἀρχῶν*) to set forth the doctrines (*δόγμα*) of wickedness (*ἀσεβείας*). But (*ἐπεὶ*) the priest (*πρεσβύτερος*), when he had heard the new words, said to him, 'I for my part have never heard these (things). But (*ἀλλὰ*) I will send for the *παπὰς*³ Archêlaos and

¹ Arabic: 'If I put thee to shame in the measure of thine own lies, wilt thou persevere against me in what thou sayest?'

² The Coptic is obscure; probably corrupt. Arabic: 'Are there in your books words which ye accept and words which ye reject?'

³ Arabic: 'Archelaos the *بابا*,' without points as usual here when the word is foreign.

will let him hear thee. If he say these words are good, which thou sayest, then will we too learn them.' When Manês heard these (things) and the name of the παπας Archêlaos, he was troubled [p. 320], knowing the man's might and the wisdom (σοφία) of God that was in him. And so he returned to Persia (Περσις) and there too he did iniquities (φauλος) in the great name of the Paraclete (παρακλητος). But (ê) the Paraclete himself did justice for His name; for (γαρ) he delivered him into the hand of the king of the Persians (Περσος) and he flayed him (*lit.*, tortured *or* twisted his skin) and cast him to the wild-beasts (θηριον),¹ because that he had become the cause (αιτιος) of the death of his only (μονογενης) son; and he was guilty of the death of them that kept the prison, who were slain on his account because that he had escaped from the prison. For (γαρ) he called himself Manê, whose translation is the Teacher, according (κατα) to the language of the Persians (Περσος); but according to (ê, κατα) the Greeks (έλλην), the Madman [*H. E.* VII, 31] that is, he who is the devil (δαιμονιον), as those of his heresy (αιρεσις) are devils (δαιμονιον) and in the same way as² those that fight with God, having become Satan (σατανας) for a multitude of men. At times (μεν) [he declared himself to be] the Paraclete, at times (ê) one of the twelve Apostles (αποστολος). And thus did Archêlaos confound him, saying, 'If thou be the Paraclete, thou hast delayed more than three hundred years beyond the Paraclete of God, he who edifieth the churches³' (εκκλησια).

H. E. VII, 32.

But (ê) in those times Felix (Φελιξ), the bishop (επισκοπος) of Rome (Ρωμη) went to rest and Eutychês (sic) came into his place. Felix passed five years in the episcopate (επισκοπη); but (ê) Eutêchianos (sic) passed ten months. And he went to rest, having left the throne (θρονος) to Gaios in our time, and he passed eleven (sic) years⁴ and ended and there came to his place Markellianos. [2] But (ê) at this (time) came the great⁵ persecution (διωγμος). But (ê) in Antioch (Αντιοχεια), after Domnos, Timaios took the episcopacy (επισκοπη), Cyril again coming in his place, Dorotheos the priest (πρεσβυτερος) being in Antioch and having the

¹ Arabic ends the subject here, continuing at once with Eusebius, VII, 32.

² Mistaking διηπου for τύπω.

³ Cf. 1 Cor. xiv, 4, 5.

⁴ Mistaking *nnte* for *mttue*.

⁵ Not in Greek.

word of God and being zealous (*φιλοκαλος*) for the holy [p. 321] words, interpreting (*ἐρμηνεύειν*) many Hebrew (*ἐβραϊος*) words; for (? *ἐπειδή*) he meditated (*μελετᾷ*)¹ the scriptures (*γραφή*) with great knowledge (*ἐπιστήμη*). He was from among the very noble (*εὐγενής*)², and was well (*καλῶς*) experienced in the training (*παιδείσις*) of the scriptures. But (*ὅτι*) he was a eunuch by nature (*φύσει*), very good in his disposition (*τροπος*)³ and much trusted by the king in the place of the colour-dyers which is in Tyros, who put them under his charge, he being devoted to the reading of the scriptures (*γραφή*) *with great diligence (*φιλοπορία*) and being under the light yoke of the church (*ἐκκλησία*).* But (*ὅτι*) after Marinus⁴ (*σίς*) the bishop (*ἐπισκοπος*) of Antioch, Tyranos took his bishopric (*ἐπισκοπος*).

II. E. VII, 30. 22.

But (*ὅτι*) Aulêrianos (*σίς*) died, being king of Rome,⁵ and there was (*σίς*) king in his place Karos and Karinos and Noumerianos. But (*ὅτι*) these passed three years (as kings) and they died and Dioklêtianos took their kingdom. But (*ὅτι*) this (king) raised up against us a great persecution (*δίωγμος*), beyond (*παρα*) all those that preceded it. And he destroyed the churches (*ἐκκλησία*) †and burned the sacred books and slew the prophets (*προφήτης*) and the priests (*πρεσβύτερος*) and the deacons (*διακονος*) that fell into his hand and those that withstood him.† [23] But (*ὅτι*) Dionêsios was the bishop (*ἐπισκοπος*) of Rome; after him Felix; the destruction of the churches (*ἐκκλησία*) having been under them and the ruin of the holy place.

II. E. VII, 32. 5.

But (*ὅτι*) Zôgratôs (=Socrates) went to rest in Laodikia and there took his bishopric (*ἐπισκοπος*) Eusebios. But (*ὅτι*) this (man) went to (*σίς*)⁶ Rakote (=Alexandria); having had cause to return to (*σίς*) Rakote on account of Paul and of the

* * Not in the Greek.

† † Neither this nor the end of § 23 are in the Greek. The Arabic omits § 23.

¹ A word very frequent in Egyptian ascetic literature for the recitation of scriptural passages.

² Greek: *ἐλευθέρων*.

³ A phrase hard to account for. For *τροπος*, cf. ? *ἐπιτροπή*.

⁴ Should be Cyril. Marinus (of Tyre) occurs in VII, 5.

⁵ 'Six years' and all mention of Probus omitted. But the Arabic has both.

⁶ So Arabic.

bishops (ἐπισκοπος) that had assembled in Syria, that they might establish the church (ἐκκλησία) of Antioch, Eusebios also being there;¹ and a χρημα was given about him, namely, according as the words of Dionêsius have told us. [6] Anatôlios became his successor (ἐπαχθος), a good (αγαθος) man and they placed (καθίστημι) him after (λίτ. over) the good (αγαθον), he too being from Rakote (=Alexandria), (and having) studied (? μελεταν) the training (παιδεία) of the Greeks (Ἕλληνας) as a philosopher (ὡς φιλοσοφος) and resembling the glorious great² of the discipline (παιδευσis) of counting and geometry (γεωμετρία) and astronomy (αστρονομία) and the speech of the orators (ῥήτωρ) and physical (φυσική) science (θεωρία), and having become perfect (τελειος) as an orator (ῥήτωρ), so that (ὥστε) he became successor (ἐπαχθος) in the school of Aristotelês, *so that (ὥστε) he was beloved in Rakote (=Alexandria) and they begged him to stay with them (or there) in the city (πολις) and teach (ἐκδιδάσκειν) their children.* [7] But (ἐπε) this (man) did great deeds of might in Rakote (=Alexandria) which commemorate him in the school of Rakote, until he arrived at the chosen measure of the church (ἐκκλησία). [8] But (ἐπε) they say that, while still (ἐτι) the fire³ was burning in the (parts) that had been destroyed and (while) they were being slain by hunger, yet (ἐπε) was Anatolios there, the city (πολις) fighting daily on both sides,⁴ but (ἐπε) the Roman (Ῥωμαῖοι) soldiers—but (ἐπε) he had not yet gone to Syria and he remained, †the Lord watching over him,† and they did not destroy his dwelling⁵ (λίτ. places), he himself glory increase[d?], till the Roman generals (στρατηλάταις) heard of him cause[d?] them to cease fighting (πολεμεῖν), because of the great hunger that was in the city (πολις), they having detained Anatolios because of teaching,⁶ [? 9] he having requested (αἰτεῖν) the Roman (Ῥωμαῖος) general (στρατηλάτης) with a large present⁷ (δωρεά) and receiving grace (χαρίς) from him. And he met Anatolios face to face and (ἐπε) begged of him that he would make peace (εἰρήνη) with the magnates

* * A very loose paraphrase. So too § 7, which was apparently not understood and hence simplified. The Arabic has compressed the whole of §§ 6, 7 into a few words.

† † Not in Greek.

¹ The foregoing clause only vaguely resembles the Greek. The Arabic is different again, but equally inexact.

² For ἑοκίμωτάτων?

³ Πυρρός mistaken for πῦρ.

⁴ For θατίρου μίρους.

⁵ For ἐν τοῖς ἀπολιορκήτοις ὕντα.

⁶ Ἐκδιδάσκει misunderstood?

⁷ For δωρεάς.

of Alexandria and would cease fighting (πολεμεῖν) with the populace (τῆμος = ἑημος).¹ But (ἵε) when the magnates showed themselves hostile (αἴμιος) toward him and wrathful,² he begged (αἰτεῖν) of them the old men and old women and the children, that they might go on before and be distant from the city (πολις) (saying) ‘Is not (μή) this a vain thing for you, to slay the weak? They fight not with you, the blind and the lame and those whose bodies (σωμα) are worn out. Let them not die of hunger. But (ἵε) do ye nourish (τροφᾶν = τροφᾶν) those among the men and youths that have strength to work’ [*sic expl.*]

129¹⁴, f. 73 = pp. 207, 208.

[He] belonged to the heresy (αἵρεσις) of Nestōrios and he sought to (re-)establish Nestōrios by the power of his kingship.³ For (γὰρ) he promised to do great benefits to the world (οἰκουμένη), such as (ὥστε) to do away with the local custom-houses (τελωνιον) and not to take customs (? τελωνιον) at any of the ports; but (ἀλλὰ) that the ships should come to port everywhere without hindrance. He said also: ‘There shall no βοηθός go to any town to exact (money), but (ἀλλὰ) the local παρχος shall go and receive its taxes (ἐφημοσίων) and give them to the ἐπιτροπος of each ἐπαρχία.’⁴ And many other benefits besides did he promise by words to do; only (μόνον) they were to obey him in his wicked religion (θρησκεία). He collected together a number of bishops (ἐπισκοπος) to Chalkêdôn [p. 208], making more than 500 in number, Dioskoros the archbishop (ἀρχιεπισκοπος) being there and Iobennalios of Jerusalem,⁵ he that was with Cyril the archbishop at the synod (συνόδος) that had been in Ephesos. To him, at his coming forth from Jerusalem, there gathered the archimandrites (ἀρχιμανῆριτες) of the Mount of Olives and those that were round about Siôn and those of the eminent, pneumatophoric (πνευματοφόρος) archimandrites that were near them. They said to him, ‘Go not to the synod (συνόδος), for (γὰρ) we have heard that Markianos is a

¹ Failing to understand the Greek, the translator gives a quite erroneous paraphrase. The Arabic reduces, from end of § 8 to here, into a few misleading words.

² The next phrase, ἀλλ’ ὅν χρησίμους, entirely omitted.

³ Zacharias III, ch. 1; cf. Evagrius II, 2.

⁴ I have failed to find any record of Marcian’s proposals here described.

⁵ Cf. Zach. III, ch. 3, and Krüger’s notes.

Nestorian and we would not that thou shouldest meet with him. There is guile, oh *παπας*! But (*ê*) Ioubennalios said to them, 'Even if (*καὶ*) I go, yet will I not suffer (*ἀνεχέω*) the faith (*πίστις*) and the worship to be betrayed (*προδίδωμι*) [*sic expl.*].

129¹⁴, fol. 73 = p. 117.

. . . . they knowing that he (*i.e.*, Salofaciolus) was orthodox¹ (*ορθόδοξος*). But (*ê*) many took not communion (*συναγείν*) with him in the faith (*πίστις*); for² (*ἀλλὰ*) he sat upon the throne (*θρόνος*) of Timotheos the archbishop (*αρχιεπισκοπος*) while the latter was alive. Pshoi, that is Timotheos,³ used to send to the holy (*ἅγιος*) Timotheos in the place where he was numerous gifts⁴ (*δωρον*), confessing (*ὁμολογέω*) (and) saying, 'Thine is the throne (*θρόνος*) and I am under thee.' But (*ê*) Timotheos, being in exile (*ἐξωριστία*), produced 512 commentaries (*ἐξηγήσεις*) written in two books, (wherein) he spoke of many passages (*κεφάλαιον*) of the scripture (*γραφῇ*), expounding them excellently (*καλῶς*). He wrote besides concerning the tome (*τομος*) of Chalkêdôn, laying bare its blasphemies and he shewed its heresies (*αἵρεσις*) and its counter-heresies (*αντιαἵρεσις*), combatting the false knowledge.⁵ He wrote too of the Song of Songs.⁶ He wrote also [p. 118] about the Synod (*συνόδος*) of Chalkêdôn, saying that every one must needs,

¹ V. fol. 98b.

² MS. *ἀλλὰ* *je-*; so not simply 'but.'

³ Thus another is added to the names attributed to Salophaciolus; and from a native source. I think it the origin of Joh. Nikiu's 'Ayes' (p. 482) = *أياس* for the late form *أبشاي* (so Paris MSS. Arab. 153 and 305), and of Eutychius's 'Surus'; for the Cotton MS. has (f. 128a = Pococke II, 102) *سورس* (*sic*) once, (*Παΐσιος Παΐσιος* and Pshoi as forms of the same name; v. Pomialowski, *Jitie . . . Paisia Velikago* (1900) and Egypt Exploration Fund's *Report*, 1900-01, 70) and has other good readings, rejected by Pococke, *e.g.*, *ألورس* Aelurus, instead of *يانوريوس*. Liberatus's 'Asbus,' explained as 'Albus' (hence? Theophanes' *Λευκός*), may be from this misunderstood Coptic form.

⁴ Similar gifts from Salofaciolus to Aelurus are recorded by Zacharias V, ch. 4.

⁵ Cf. 1 Tim. vi, 20, and the title of Irenæus' work.

⁶ There is no record of any such work by Timothy; cf. Riedel, *Auslegung des Hohen Lieds*. What here follows must all refer to the Council, the wicked king being Marcian. An almost contemporary commentary on the Song was that of Shenoute; v. Zoega, no. xciii.

after seven years,¹ know that it was impure and filthy, like the song the harlots (πορνῆ) sing;² it being filthy because (? πειδῆ) the wicked (ασεβῆς) king had dared (τολμᾶν) to say regarding the One and Indivisible, Christ Jesus, that He was of two natures (φύσεις) being now (μὲν) God, now (δὲ) man; thinking that he showed therein great wisdom, knowing not that no nature (φύσις) can set bounds to the Creator of (all) natures (φύσεις); for it is He that sets bounds to all, the things in heaven and the things on earth. But (δὲ) He is in no wise subservient to (ὑποτασσεν) any nature (φύσις) or (οὐκ) novelty (?).³ These things did the holy (ἅγιος) Timotheos explain, rejecting the Synod (συνόδος) of Chalkêdôn and saying, 'Esaias the prophet [129¹⁴, f. 98] did prophecy⁴ (προφητεύειν) of it, pronouncing it accursed (αναθεμα), ere the Son of God came into the world (κοσμος) and saying, Cry aloud, ye ships of Chalkêdôn for your high-place is destroyed.⁵ For (γὰρ) superior to (lit. lord of) every bishop (ἐπισκοπος) is the holy faith (πίστις) of Christ Jesus, the true God.⁶ It did those that subscribed (ὑπογράφειν) the tome (τομος) of Chalkêdôn destroy, in that they compelled (κατεχεν) to say that Christ subsisted in (two) natures (lit. in natures, φύσεις). Christ is above every nature and every inclination (ρίκη) and every name that is spoken, not only (οὐ μόνον) of them on earth, but (ἀλλὰ) the others too that are in the heavens;⁷ He who is on the right-hand of the greatness that is on high,⁸ He who converts the fire and makes it water and the water and makes it fire. Where is He now? The supremacy (lit., lordship) of the natures (φύσεις), is it (?) a supremacy, except so far as (εἰ μὲν) God has ordained it? For (καὶ γὰρ) in truth, in the Law (νόμος) the Lord did make the fire and the water to work (ἐνεργεῖν) within the tree and the plants by means of the hail (χαλασσοῦ σίς).⁹ Neither (οὐδέ) was the fire quenched by the water nor (οὐδέ) was the water con-

¹ This work against the Council was composed therefore about 459.

² MS., *ἡδὲ εἰσαρενεῖ πορνῆ σοφ*. For the last word I read *σοφ*.

³ Perhaps read *μῖρρε* 'chain,' for *μῖρρε*.

⁴ Fol. 73^b ends *εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον ἔσχατον ἔσχατον* . . . (= probably *πεποφῆταις*), while fol. 98 begins . . . *ἔσχατον ἔσχατον ἔσχατον*.

⁵ Isaiah xxiii, 14. Not preserved in Sa'idic. The Boh. reads Chalcedon, as here; so too several Greek MSS., not all of them Egyptian (cf. Holmes-Parsons *in loc.* and Swete, *Introduction*, 166).

⁶ Text: *ἡδὲ γὰρ ἐπισκοπος ἡμῶν πῶς ἐστις* etc.

⁷ Cf. Eph. i, 21, 25 (the Sa'idic, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 1887, 101).

⁸ Heb. i, 3.

⁹ V. Exod. ix, 24.

sumed by the fire. For all things that He willeth do obey Him and finish command.

129¹⁴, f. 98a, col. 2.

Pshoi, that is Timotheos, ruled (*αρχειν*) the church (*εκκλησια*) all the days of Leôn the king. But (*êc*) after he died, Basiliskos, the brother of his wife, became king. He sent at once for Timotheos and placed (*καθιστημι*) him upon his (episcopal) throne (*θρονος*). But (*êc*) Pshoi, in the monastery of the Metanoia.¹ After Basilios (*sic*) had fled from the kingship, there reigned Zenôn. He was a [*Parts of 3 lines*] (fol. *b.*) [established] him upon the throne (*θρονος*) of Rakote (=Alexandria). Timotheos he placed over the monasteries² (*μοναστηριον*) and Phoi sat peacefully upon the throne (*θρονος*); for he too was orthodox³ (*ορθοδοξος*). But (*êc*) when he was dead, the whole clergy (*κληρος*) and the archimandrites and all the people (*êημος*) set (*καθιστημι*) Timotheos (*i.e.* Aelurus) upon the throne (*θρονος*). [*What follows is very fragmentary and therefore uncertain.*] (Then did) all divisions become absent from the church (*εκκλησια*) and it was again at rest (?), there being no cause of offence (*σκανδαλον*) on any side; but there was peace (*ειρηνη*) for all the peoples (*λαος pl.*) that hated the tome (*τομος*) of Chalkêdôn [*Parts of 13 lines.*] holy, indivisible church (?), through the grace (*χαρις*) and love toward men of our Lord and God and Saviour (*σωτηρ*) Jesus Christ, through whom &c. Amen.

In an ornamental frame:—The twelfth history (*ιστωρια*) of the holy church (*εκκλησια*). It is finished, in God's peace (*ειρηνη*). Amen.

Then, in a somewhat later hand:—And this choice garden (*κομμαριον*), and paradise (*παράδεισος*), blossoming from the beginning

¹ An earlier name for that of Canopus, whither Theophanes (an. 5967) states that Saloph. retreated. Cf. Du Cange, *s.v.* μεταβολαι, Le Quien, II, 415, Hieron. *Praef. in Reg. Pachom.* (Migne, 23, 63).

² Or 'T. betook himself to the monasteries.'

³ Eutychius, II, 103, too calls him a Jacobite, owing (so Bright, in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.*, IV, 1033) to his re-insertion of Dioscorus' name in the diptychs. His relations with Pope Leo would sufficiently prove the inaccuracy. There may be confusion between these Timothys in *Miss. franç.*, IV, 630. Cf. Ladeuze, *Etude etc.*, 203.

until this day, through the care of our God-bearing (*θεοφορος*), holy fathers of the church (*κκλησια*), it did our brother Pirothe (*Φιλοθεος*) the son of Pshai, of Psoounhai¹ . . . *buy, and he presented it to the monastery of Shenoute at Atripe.*

The scribe was the monk Basil.

¹ Cf. Psooun, in the nome of Achmim (Amélineau, *Géogr.*, 585); also *بصون* *Miss. franç.* iv, 422.

P.S.—It is not unlikely that ‘The Histories (*ιστωρια*) of the Church,’ which appear in the catalogue of a Theban monastic library (*Rec.* xi, 134), should be the work here described. The catalogue dates from about the year 600.

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN OBJECTS IN WOOD AND BONE.

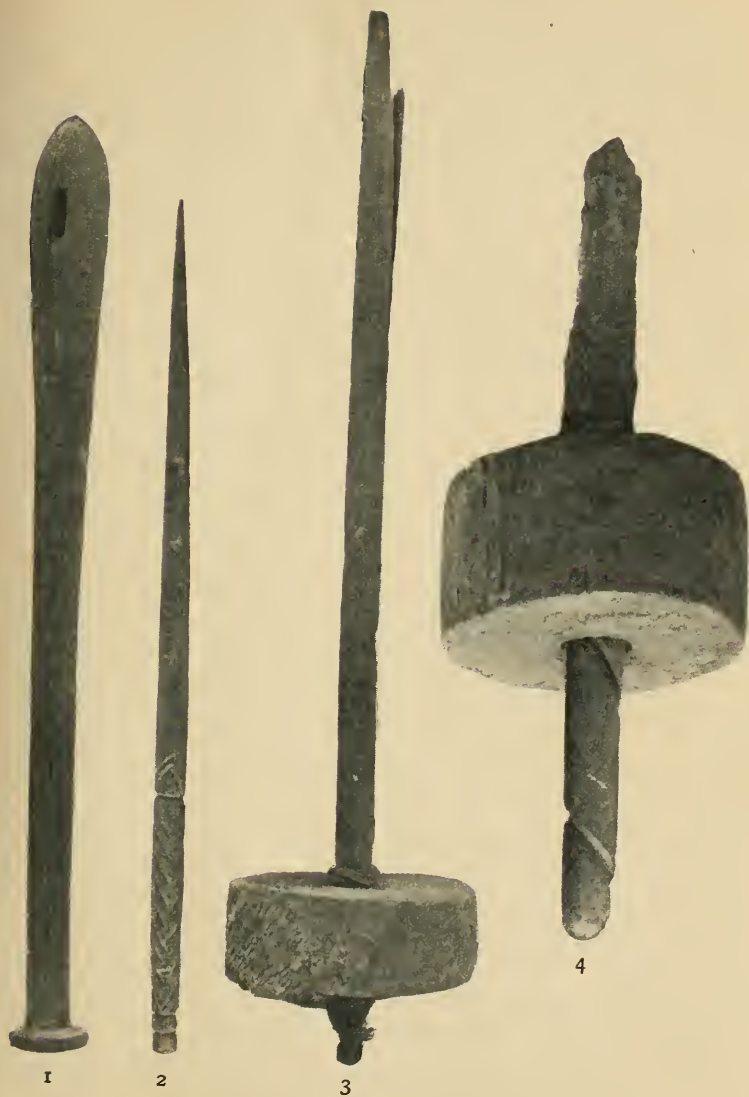
BELONGING TO E. TOWRY WHYTE, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*

The following objects from my own collection are all of wood, with the exception of the mesh-gauge. A certain amount of interest attaches to them, as they are not funeral furniture, but were all made for use either in the household or as toys. The netting needle, which I obtained from Dr. Petrie after his excavations at Gurob, is in all respects similar to those at present in use, and shows that as regards netting by hand there has been no improvement of any importance in the instruments used since the XVIIIth dynasty at least. It is in wonderfully good condition, and could still be used perfectly well. In the tip-cat and whip-top we see that from very early times boys played in much the same way as they do now. The three instruments connected with weaving flax are probably all from Kahun; the two spindles I know are, as I got them from Dr. Petrie. As regards the stibium case, I have no information as to whence it came. I obtained it at the Forman sale. It is also difficult to assign a date to it, but probably it is XVIIIth—XIXth dynasty.

The following is the detailed description of the objects:—

PLATE I.

1. Distaff used for spinning. Acacia wood. Length, 8 ins.



ANCIENT EGYPTIAN WOODEN OBJECTS.
In the collection of E. Towry Whyte, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*



2

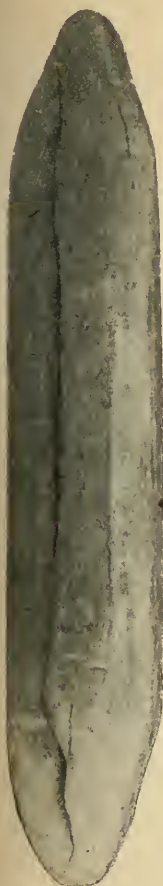


I

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN WOODEN STIBIUM CASE.

In the collection of E. Towry Whyte, *M.A., F.S.A.*

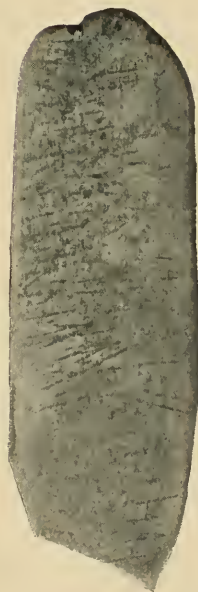
PLATE III.



I



2



3



4

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN OBJECTS IN WOOD AND BONE.

In the collection of E. Towry Whyte, *M.A., F.S.A.*

2. A hair-pin, the upper part ornamented with chevrons. From Gurob. XVIIIth—XIXth Dynasty. Acacia wood. Length, $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins.
3. A spindle with whorl attached. The spindle is of hard wood, the whorl of sycamore wood. From Kahun. XIIth Dynasty. Length, $7\frac{1}{4}$ ins.
4. Another spindle and whorl, both made of sycamore wood. 5 ins. long. Also from Kahun. XIIth Dynasty.

PLATE II.

1. A stibium or kohl case, with four compartments or tubes; also four holes for holding the bodkins for applying the stibium or kohl to the eyes. On the top there have been four small wooden pegs, one at each angle (one of which still remains), on which four circular covers were fastened, one over each compartment, and so arranged as just to slide past the bodkins; that this was so is shown by the difference in the colour of the wood, being much darker where the covers originally were; an unusual arrangement. The body of the case is most likely acacia wood, the top and bottom are a hard wood like rosewood. Height, $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins. by $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. square.
2. Upper surface of the stibium case described above, showing the openings of the four tubes for the kohl, and the holes for the bodkins.

PLATE III.

1. A tip-cat, precisely similar to those used by boys in the present day. From Kahun. XIIth Dynasty. Acacia wood. Length, $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins.
2. A whip-top, roughly made. From Kahun. XIIth Dynasty. Sycamore wood. Height, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins.
3. A mesh-gauge for netting. From Gurob. Bone. Length, 3 ins. by 1 in. across.
4. A netting needle of hard wood. From Gurob. Length, $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

NOTES FROM EGYPT,

BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., &c.

December 29th, 1901.

The diggers for *sebakh* have laid bare the remains of what must have been a large temple of Seti II, at Eshmunên. The entrance to it is fairly perfect. On one side the King is represented giving an image of Truth to Thoth, while on the other he presents incense to Ra. On the east face of the pylon is a large and well preserved stela containing many lines of inscription relating to the festivals of Thoth. Some of the columns of the temple to the west of the pylon are still standing, but like the pylon itself the workmanship is poor and cheap. The treasury of the Pharaoh must have been far from filled at the time. Fragments of an older temple of the age of the twelfth dynasty have been employed in the building, and a large block of limestone with the name and titles of Amen-em-hat is still standing in one place. On the lower part of it is the figure of the King offering milk to Khnum.

M. Legrain's excavations at Karnak have disclosed the existence of a new Usertesen who belonged to the thirteenth dynasty: they have also brought to light a seated statue of the famous seer Amen-hotep, son of Pa-Hapi, who figures in Manetho's story of the Exodus. The statue is that of an old man, and the inscription attached to it states that it was executed when Amen-hotep was already eighty years of age. But he expresses his hope that he may live to be one hundred and ten.

The Museum at Giza has acquired (in 1898) a bronze dagger with a silver handle which was found at Saqqara. On one side of the handle are the cartouches of a new Hyksos King, "the lord of the two lands, the good god, Ra-neb-khopesh (?), the son of the Sun Apep the life-giver." Here then we have a third Apophis in addition to the two already known.

CYLINDER-SEALS IN THE POSSESSION OF J. OFFORD, ESQ.

By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, LL.D., M.R.A.S.

I.



This is a small cylinder of hæmatite, $\frac{3}{8}\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch high, and a fraction over $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch in diameter. It is engraved with two figures, that on the left seemingly front-face, and having the hands folded on the breast, and that on the right in profile, looking towards the other (*i.e.*, to the left). This latter has the left arm bent and held against the breast, and the right arm bent, with the hand raised, suggesting the utterance of a solemn speech. Both wear robes reaching to the ankles, and the figure in profile is represented as wearing a horned hat, such as deities and divine attendants are generally shown with. The hat of the other figure is similar, but has two points at the top, probably implying an attempt on the part of the engraver to make a difference on account of this deity being front-face. The inscription, which is in three lines, reads as follows :

𒀭	𒀭	𒀭	D.F. Nin-sah	<i>Nin-sah</i>
𒀭	𒀭	𒀭	šu-zi-an-na	<i>crown of heaven,</i>
𒀭	𒀭	𒀭	giš had ur šu-du	<i>the sceptre of glory holding.</i>

The god Ninsah is stated to be the same as Pap-sukal, the messenger of Anu, the god of the heavens, and has several names, each indicating a different phase of his character. As Pap-sukal, he

was god *ša puruše*, "of decisions," and on account of that, *Ešbar-anna*, the deified "decision of heaven," was his *gud-duba*, or (perhaps better) *gud-lumha*, apparently meaning "ministering bull." Under the name of Ganga (of which there is a variant Gaga), he was Papsukal as god *ša šêrti*, perhaps "of the dawn." Gaga is the messenger of the gods, who announces to Lahma and Lahama (Anu, the god of the heavens, and his consort), in the story of Bel and the Dragon, the rebellion of Tiamat.

The first character of the second line, *šu*, is very doubtful, but the traces lend themselves to the restoration here proposed. The group *šu-zi* is explained as *âgû*, a word having several meanings, the most probable one in this case being "crown," principally on account of the similar compound *sag-zi*, "head-adornment (?)," of which it is a synonym. *Anna* is the common Akkadian word for "heaven," and also for Anu, the god of the heavens, whose messenger Ninsah was.

Giš-had is one of the Akkadian words for "sceptre," borrowed by the Semitic Babylonians under the form of *haṭṭu*. *Ur*, the next character, has many meanings, but the most probable in this case seems to be that contained in the word *baltu*, "glory," by which it is translated. The last character of the three lines is engraved as , *ta*, preceded by a "corner-wedge," but as this does not give any sense, and the superfluous wedge is difficult to explain, the best way is to regard the *final* wedge as a mistake of the engraver, and read the group without it, thus:   =   , *šu-du*, a meaning of which, *kullu ša haṭṭi*, "to hold, of a sceptre," confirms this correction.

As is usual in short inscriptions, the suffixes expressing the prepositions are not written. Whether this be due to the desire to economise space, or to their omission in spoken Akkadian at this time, is uncertain.

From the inscription, it is to be surmised, that one of the two figures is intended for the god Ninsah, but there is no indication as to which it is. In all probability, that which has the greater claim to identification with this deity, is the front-face figure, as being the more important. On the other hand, the figure in profile is not altogether without its claims, as it may be intended to show Ninsah announcing something to his divine master, Anu. Neither of them is provided with a sceptre. The question whether these cylinder-seals were kept by the engraver in stock, and provided with an

inscription when a purchaser appeared, or were not commenced until an order was given, has still to be decided. The former would account for certain apparent inconsistencies in designs of this nature, such as the absence of the sceptre referred to in the inscription.

II.



A small cylinder of hæmatite, a fraction under an inch high and rather more than $\frac{9}{16}$ in diameter. Beginning on the right, we see a seated figure clothed in a robe which may be goat-skin, the left hand held against the breast, and the right raised as if in conversation. This figure is apparently that of a female. Before her stands a female figure with her left hand raised as if in conversation, her right arm behind her, and bent downwards at a right angle (the conventional attitude of this figure on cylinder-seals), and her hand grasping the wrist of the figure which follows her, and whom she leads into the presence of the seated goddess. Both the female figures have the conventional horned hats (that of the seated goddess exists only in part on account of a fracture of the stone), and their hair platted and looped up behind. The divine attendant leading the man wears a dress of a similar material to that of the seated goddess. The man, who is apparently intended to represent the owner of the seal, wears a dress reaching to the feet, the outer portion or mantle having a fringed edge, and arranged so as to leave the right arm, which is bent at the elbow, and has the hand raised, bare. On his head is a domed hat with seven vertical lines. This headdress, though unusual, may be intended to represent the thick-brimmed hat of the period to which the cylinder belongs, or a variant of it. There would also be little against explaining it as a wig.

Above and in front of the seated goddess is the crescent of the moon, and between her and the divine attendant a kind of bottle with a short, broad body, and a longish neck. Between the divine attendant and the man whom she is introducing is an upright object

with a projection in the middle, such as is frequently found in subjects of this class. Between the beginning and the end of the design on the cylinder, are two short lines of inscription, as follows :—

		D.P. Šamaš	(<i>the sungod</i>),
		D.P. A-a	(<i>the moongoddess</i>).

This inscription is written, as is usual on cylinder-seals, vertically, and has, beneath it, a representation of an animal looking to the left, with an open mouth, a single ear turned back, and a tail curved upwards and forwards. It is probably intended for a dog.

Designs of this class are of a common occurrence from about 2700 B.C., for a thousand years or possibly more. The seated figure, if a god, is generally bearded, though this is not exclusively the case. The presence of the lunar crescent suggests that the deity intended is the goddess Aa, *i.e.*, the moon as the consort of the sungod, mentioned in the well-known hymn to the sun, first published by me in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. VIII, Pt. 2, 1884 (pp. 167, 168). The Akkadian equivalent of the name of this goddess is there given as Šenirda or (perhaps better) Šerīda, which, with Aa, forms one of the twenty names by which she was known.

The workmanship is rough, and some of the details are therefore not altogether clear. It is not difficult to see, however, that the figure of the owner of the cylinder (he who is being introduced to the goddess) is beardless, and probably the head was shaven also. It may, therefore, be conjectured that the cylinder belonged to a priest of the goddess Aa, and that the absence of hair on the face was a sign of his office.

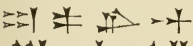
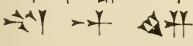
III.



A hæmatite cylinder, 1 inch and a sixteenth high, by $\frac{1}{32}$ in diameter. The central figure is a deity, apparently dressed as a

warrior. He is looking towards the right, has the right arm hanging down, and holds the left, in the hand of which he grasps a mace, against his body. He is clothed in a scanty garment, probably a short mantle, thrown over the left shoulder so as to leave the right arm and shoulder bare, and wears on his head a hat with a thick brim, similar to those worn by one of the human heads found at Lagaš (Tel-loh), and by Hammurabi in the bas-relief representing him. On the right is a female figure with the hands held up in an attitude of adoration. She wears the usual flounced robe suggestive of goatskin, a horned hat, and has her hair looped up in the usual style behind. The figure on the left looks towards the deity in the centre, and is placed on a higher plane. To all appearance, this last is engraved in a rougher style, and the costume is different, being apparently a simple tunic confined at the waist, open in front, with skirts reaching only to the calves, and rounded off at the corners. The right arm is bent sharply at the elbow, and the hand is held against the breast. His left arm is also bent at the elbow, and he seems to hold up a short sword or mace surmounted by some emblem in his hand. The features are not indicated, the head being simply "roughed in," and it is therefore doubtful whether the two "beads" of which it is formed would have been worked into the cheek and the forehead, or whether the lower one would have been made into the face, and the upper into a globular hat.

It is noteworthy that the ends of this object are not flat, as they ought to be, but are rounded somewhat irregularly. The cylindrical portion, moreover, is not perfect, a slight flattening being visible where the left-hand figure is. On looking at this part carefully, one sees traces of the inscription, which must therefore originally have consisted of four lines, instead of two, as at present, whilst the design must have contained two figures instead of three. It is therefore clear, that at some time after the first owner had departed to the world beyond, this object fell into the hands of another person who, wishing to use it himself, had obliterated the name of the first owner, partly by grinding down the surface, and partly by inserting the figure on the left. The following is the inscription, as far as it can be read :—

	... ta	... ta
.....		
	Ap-pa-ni-ili	<i>Appani-ili,</i>
	ârad D.P. Rammāni	<i>servant of Rimmon.</i>

From this we see that it belonged, apparently, to two persons, possibly brothers, the name of the first is lost with the exception of one syllable, namely, ta the other being Appani-ili; and that the latter was the devotee of the god Rammānu or Addu (Rimmon or Hadad). The name of the patron deity of the first is lost by the erasure of the line which contained it (to make room for the figure which has been inserted). That the second was not father of the first is suggested by the fact that there is not enough room for the character , "son," at the beginning of the third line, notwithstanding the amount which has been ground away. As the second name has been left intact, a plausible suggestion would be, that the man bearing the first name died first, and that, after his death, his successor erased his name and made use of the cylinder for himself alone, which is very possible. Some attempt, however, has been made to destroy the second name also, but whether this was done when the additional figure was engraved, or at some subsequent time, is uncertain.

The date of this cylinder is about 2200 B.C., the time of the dynasty to which Hammurabi or Amraphel belonged, and this being the case, it was to be expected that names illustrating that given in the portion of the inscription which remains might be found. As a matter of fact, a similar name—or, rather, the full form of the same name—Ana-pani-ili, meaning "to the presence of God," really occurs, as the father of a man named Rammanu-éllat-zu (or Addu-éllat-zu), the latter being likewise a worshipper of the god Rimmon. Appani-ili or Ana-pani-ili are, however, in all probability, not uncommon names, so that there is no proof in this, that the cylinder here described belonged to the father of Rammānu-éllat-zu, though it must be acknowledged that such a thing is within the bounds of possibility.

Naturally such a name as this recalls the well-known Biblical name of Penuel, or Peniel, the place where Jacob saw God "face to face." Such a name as that given by Mr. Offord's cylinder and the tablet (which is of the time of Samsu-iluna), might however be regarded as of some importance in determining the meaning of its shorter Biblical counterpart, or at least illustrating it. The rendering which I have given for Appani-ili and Ana-pani-ili is "to the presence of God," but other shades of meaning are also possible. Thus, instead of translating these names in that way, "at the presence" or "face of God" are also admissible. The question naturally arises, however,

what is the verb which is to be understood here? Is it "Let me go to the presence of God," or does the name mean that the man bearing it was "Asked at the presence of God," or, again, may it mean "Granted at the face" (qy. "by the favour") "of God"? It is impossible to say. In the Phœnician inscriptions, as is well known, Tanith is called "the face of Baal," and it is not impossible that, as the deities were often conceived as being much too glorious for mortal eyes to behold, their divine representative or presence took their place, as is clearly the case in Gen. xxxii, 24-32, where he who wrestled with Jacob is at first called a man, though he afterwards revealed himself as God.

But this is a subject of many explanations, and there is too much to say about it.

IV.



The last of the four cylinders belonging to Mr. J. Offord is of light red stone, perhaps marble, $\frac{1}{16}$ ths of an inch high, and $\frac{1}{32}$ nds in diameter, roughly engraved and much worn. The design is very similar to that on No. 2, consisting of the goddess, the crescent of the moon, the divine attendant, and the owner being led, by the attendant, into the presence of the goddess. Instead of the bottle, however, there is a short staff or stick, with the upper end curved towards the goddess, between the last-named and the attendant; and three scorpions, placed horizontally, in the place occupied by the inscription in No. 2. It is noteworthy that, at some period, possibly an ancient one, the cylinder has been broken into two irregular and differing portions, and joined together again by the insertion of some hard substance.

The most interesting variant in this cylinder is the introduction of the scorpions, which probably have something to do with the sign of the zodiac bearing that name. It is noteworthy that the two lower ones look to the left, and have their tails curved upwards, whilst that at the top looks to the right, and has its tail curved downwards. They are, therefore, in the same attitude, though they occupy different positions. What may be the meaning (if any) of this arrangement, has still to be found out.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday, March 12th, 1902, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

The REV. DR. LÖWY: "A Study of Pre-Massoretic Bible Texts."

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

ALKER, E., Die Chronologie der Bücher der Könige und Paralipomenon im

Einklang mit der Chronologie der Aegypter, Assyrer, Babylonier und Meder.

AMÉLINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.

——— Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.

——— La Morale Égyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.

AMIAUD, La Légende Syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-SECOND SESSION, 1902.

VOLUME XXIV.

Third Meeting, 12th March, 1902.

SIR H. H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E., F.R.S., etc. (Member of Council)*

IN THE CHAIR.



The PRESIDENT referred to the great loss literature has suffered by the death of PROF. AUGUST EISENLOHR, which took place at Heidelberg on the 23rd of February. He was one of our oldest Hon. Members, and was a frequent contributor to the Society's Publications in former years.

The following Present was announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donor:—

From Capt. H. G. Lyons:—Ministry of Finance. Department of Direct Taxes. Reassessment of Land Tax. List of Villages and Hods in Gharbia, Cairo. Fol. 1901.

(Supplement to the *Journal Official*, No. 139, 9 December, 1901.)

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated in February:—

Mrs. Charles F. Allison, Halcyon Lodge, Cumberland Park, Acton.

Frederick H. Franklin, Castle Hill House, Oxford.

Rev. William Shaw-Caldecott, Sheen Park, Richmond.

Ernest Sibree, M.A., University College, Bristol.

Rev. E. Sinker, M.A., Senior Chaplain, Mission to Seamen, Poplar, E.

The following Candidate was nominated for election at the next Meeting on May 14th:—

James Buyers, Brisbane, Queensland.

The following Paper was read, and will appear in the June No. of the *Proceedings*:—

REV. DR. LÖWY: "A Study of Pre-Massoretic Bible Texts."

Remarks were added by Dr. Ginsberg, Rev. Canon Girdlestone, Dr. Gaster, Mr. W. G. Ellis, Mr. Finkelstein, Rev. S. D. Brownjohn, Dr. Löwy, and the President.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

THE PRÆFECTS OF EGYPT.

II.

BY SEYMOUR DE RICCI.

(Continued from page 67.)

64. TITUS LONGÆUS RUFUS (A.D. 185). *Amherst papyri* II, 79 and 107 and 108.

The Latin inscription from Alexandria, naming this præfect, having only been published by Botti in his book *Plan de la Ville d'Alexandrie à l'époque ptolémaïque* (Alexandria, 1898, 8vo., XII, and 138 pages), p. 86, I thought it might be useful to give the text in this article (Botti's copy):

T · * L O N G A T O R V F O
 P R A E F · A E G · P R A E F · P R A E T
 E M I N E N T I S S I M O · V I R O
 T · V O C O N I V S · A · F · P R A E F
 L E G · II · T R · F O R T G

* Read LONGA[E]O.

T(ito) Longato (read *Longæo*) *Rufo præf(ecto) Aegypti præf(ecto) præt(orii) eminentissimo viro*, *T(itus) Voconius A(uli) f(ilius) præf(ectus) leg(ionis) II Tr(aianae) Fort(is) G(ermanicae)*.

65. POMPONIUS FAUSTIANUS (or FAUSTINIANUS) (A.D. Jan. 186–Sept. 187). *Oxyrhynchus papyri* II, n. 237. B.G.U. 842 (see also B.G.U. 481), *Amherst papyri* II, n. 79.

I am convinced that he is also named on a Greek inscription from Alexandria published by W. Hamilton, *Aegyptiaca*, p. 405, and from his book by Letronne, *Recherches*, p. 473, *Recueil des inscr.*

Vol. I, page 444 n. XLVII, and by Franz, C.I.Gr. III, p. 330, n. 4683; also published by Kennedy Bailie, *Fasciculus inscriptionum* III, p. 147. (See Franz C.I.Gr. III, p. 1186); see also Meyer, *Hermes* XXXIII (1897), p. 229, and Stein, *ibid.*, p. 667. The emperor's name, missing in the seventh and eighth lines, was restored by Letronne and Franz as that of Commodus. The præfect's name is given by Hamilton as—

ΠΟΛΛΑΝΙΟΥ ΦΛΑΥΙΑΝΟΥ;

by Bailie as— ΠΟΜΑΙΝΙΟΥ ΦΛΑΟΥΙΑΝΟΥ;

I propose to read—ΠΟΜΠΩΝΙΟΥ ΦΑΥΣΤΙΑΝΟΥ.

Here is the text of the inscription:—

Δ Ι Ι Η Λ Ι Ω Μ Ε Γ Α Λ Ω Σ Α Ρ Α Π Ι Δ Ι
Ε Ν Κ Α Ν Ω Β Ω Κ Α Ι Π Α Σ Ι Τ Ο Ι Σ Θ Ε Ο Ι Σ
Α Ν Ε Θ Η Κ Ε Ν Σ Α Ρ Α Π Ι Ω Ν [ο] Κ Α Ι Ι Σ Ι Δ Ω Ρ Ο Σ
Δ Ι Δ Υ Μ Ο Υ Τ Ο Υ Δ Ι Δ Υ Μ Ο Υ Τ Ω Ν Ε Ξ Α Ν Τ Ι Ν Ο Ο Υ Ι Ε Ρ Ο Π
[οι] Ω Ν Σ Υ Ν Ι Σ Ι Τ Ι Τ Η Κ Α Ι Ε Υ Σ Ε Β Ε Ι Α Κ Α Ι Γ Ε Ν Τ Ι Α Ν Ω
Κ Α Ι Σ Α Ρ Α Π Ι Α Δ Ι Τ Η Κ Α Ι Θ Ε Ο Δ Ω Ρ Α Κ Α Ι Φ Ω Κ Α Τ Ι

*[L κς? αυτοκρατορος Καισαρος Μαρκου Αυρηλιου]

*[Κομμοδου ευσεβους ευτυχους σεβαστου ενειφ η?]

ΕΠΙΠΟΜ[ΠΩ]ΝΙΟΥΦΑ[Υ]ΣΤΙΑΝΟΥΕΠΑΡΧΟΥΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ

* Erased.

Δι' Ἡλίου Μεγάλου Σαραπίδι ἐν Κυνέῳ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνέθηκεν
Σαραπίων [ὁ] καὶ Ἰσίδωρος Διδύμων τοῦ Διδύμων τῶν ἱξ (and not ἐξ)
Αντινόου ἱεροπ[οι]ῶν σὺν Ἰσιτι τῇ καὶ Εὐσεΐᾳ καὶ Γεντιῳ καὶ Σαρα-
πίᾳ δι τῇ καὶ Θεοδώρα καὶ Φωκῷ [ἵετους κς' (?)] αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου εὐσεβοῦς ἐντυχοῦς σεβαστοῦ ἐπεὶ φ η. (?) ἐπὶ
Πομπ[ω]νίου Φα[υ]στιανοῦ ἐπαρχοῦ Αἰγύπτου.

66. ·MARCUS AURELIUS PAPIRIUS DIONYSIUS (about A.D. 188).

Dio Cassius LXII, 14. See Meyer, *Hermes* XXXII (1897), p. 229.

The following important inscription (C.I.Gr. 5895 = Kaibel 1072 = Marini *Arv.*, 798) is to be seen in the *Musco Capitolino* at Rome, where I had the occasion of copying it in May 1900. Broken letters are pointed.

Μ Α Υ Ρ Η Λ Ι Ο Ν Π Α Π Ι Ρ Ι Ο Ν
Δ Ι Ο Ν Υ Σ Ι Ο Ν Τ Ο Ν Κ Ρ Α Τ Ι Σ Τ Ο Ν
Κ Α Ι Ε Ν Δ Ο Ζ Ο Τ Α Τ Ο Ν Ε Π Α Ρ Χ Ο Ν Α Ι Γ Υ Π Τ Ο [ν]
Κ Α Ι Ε Π Α Ρ Χ Ο Ν Ε Υ Θ Ε Ν Ι Α Σ Ε Π Ι Β Ι Β Λ Ε Ι Δ Ι Ω [ν]
Κ Α Ι Δ Ι Α Γ Ν Ω Σ Ε Ω Ν Τ Ο Υ Σ Ε Β Α Σ Τ Ο Υ Ε Π Α Ρ Χ [ον]
Ο Χ Η Μ Α Τ Ω Ν Κ Α Ι Δ Ο Υ Κ Η Ν Α Ρ Ι Ο Ν Τ Α Χ [θεντα]
Κ Α Ι Π Ε Ρ Ι Τ Η Ν Φ Λ Α Μ Ι Ν Ι Α Ν Ε Π Ι Τ Η [δειων]
Σ Υ Μ Β Ο Υ Λ Ο Ν Τ Ε Τ Ο Υ Σ Ε Β Α Σ Τ Ο Υ [και χειλι]
[αρχ] Ο Ν Λ Ε [γεωνος] etc...

67. LUCIUS MANTENNIUS SABINUS (A.D. March 193–April 194), B.G.U. 646. See Meyer *l.c.* p. 482. Inscription, Borghesi *Oeuvres*, Vol. VIII, p. 241, and *not* Vol. IV, p. 441. It may be useful to publish here the text of this inscription (from Alexandria).

Υ Π Ε Ρ Δ Ι Α Μ Ο Ν Η Σ Τ Ο Υ Κ Υ Ρ Ι Ο Υ
Η Μ Ω Ν Α Υ Τ Ο Κ Ρ Α Τ Ο Ρ Ο Σ Κ Α Ι Σ Α Ρ Ο Σ
Λ Ο Υ Κ Ι Ο Υ Σ Ε Π Τ Ι Μ Ι Ο Υ * Σ Ε Υ Η Ρ Ο Σ
Π Ε Ρ Τ Ι Ν Α Κ Ο Σ Σ Ε Β Α Σ Τ Ο Υ Κ Α Ι Ε Υ
Π Λ Ο Ι Α Σ Τ Ο Υ Σ Τ Ο Λ Ο Υ Ε Υ Ε Ο Λ Η Μ Η Τ Ο
Υ Ε Σ Π Λ Ο Ι Ω Ν Π Ο Ρ Ε Υ Τ Ι Κ Ω Ν Κ Α Ι Π Α Ν
Τ Ο Υ Φ Υ Μ Ο Υ Κ Α Ι Α Λ Ε Ξ Α Ν
. . . Ν Ν Ι Ο Υ Γ Α Ι Ο Υ Α Ι Λ Ι Ο Υ Α Υ Ρ Η Λ Ι
Ο Υ Α Ν Τ Ω Ν Ι Ο Υ Κ Α Ι Ω Σ Χ Ρ Η Μ Α Τ Ι Ζ Ε Ι
. . . Υ Λ Η Τ Ο Υ † Ε Ι Τ Ι Μ Α Ν Τ Ε Ν Ν Ι Ο Υ
Σ Α Β Ε Ι Ν Ο Υ Ε Π Α Ρ Χ Ο Υ Α Ε Γ Υ Π Τ Ο Υ
‡ Ε Β Φ Α Ρ Μ Ο Υ Θ Ι Κ Σ

* Read ΣΕΥΗΡΟΥ. † Read ΕΠΙ. ‡ Read ΕΒ.

68. MARCUS ULPUS PRIMIANUS (A.D. 194–Febr. 196). Inscription, C.I.L. III, 51. Inscription, C.I.Gr. 4863. See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 230.
69. AEMILIUS SATURNINUS (A.D. July 197–199/200), B.G.U. 15, II. See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 483.
70. QUINTUS MAECIUS LAETUS (A.D. 201/202). The *Praenomen* of this praefect is only known from an unpublished papyrus in a Paris private collection. Mr. Haussoulier kindly informed me of its existence. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VI, 2. See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 230; Borghesi X, 88.
71. SUBATIANUS AQUILA (A.D. 202–Oct. 207). Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, VI, 3. B.G.U. 484. Geneva papyrus 16. Inscription, C.I.L. III, 75. See Meyer, *l.c.*, pp. 230 and 484; Stein, *ibid.*, p. 667; Meyer, *Heerwesen*, p. 146.
72. S (?) (A.D. April 210). Not March 211 as stated in my first article.
73. SEPTIMIUS HERACLITUS (A.D. March 215), B.G.U. 362. See Meyer, *Hermes* XXXII (1897), p. 231.
74. VALERIUS DATUS (A.D. June 216–Febr. 217). B.G.U. 159. B.G.U. 266. B.G.U. 614. See Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 232.
75. BASILIANUS (A.D. 217/218). Dio Cassius LXXVIII, 35. See Meyer *l.c.*, p. 232; Borghesi X, 105.
76. GEMINIUS CHRESTUS (A.D. Aug. 219–220/221). Grenfell, *Greek papyri* I, n. 49. Inscription, Milne *Hist.*, p. 192. See Stein, *Hermes* XXXII (1897), p. 665.
77. LUCIUS DOMITIUS HONORATUS (A.D. Jan. 222). See Stein, *Zahresheft* III (1900), *Beiblatt*, col. 210; Borghesi X, 110.
78. MARCUS AEDINIUS IULIANUS (A.D. 223). See Stein *l.c.*, col. 211; de Ricci, *Revue arch.* XXXVI (1900), p. 333; Borghesi X, 119.
79. MEVIUS HONORATIANUS (A.D. June 232). Inscription, C.I.Gr. III, 4705. See Meyer, *Hermes* XXXII (1897), p. 234, and XXXIII (1898), p. 267.
80. EPAGATHUS (in the reign of Alexander 222–235). Dio Cassius LXXX, 2, and also LXXVII, 21, and LXXVIII, 39. See *Prosopographia* II, 36.

81. GAIUS IULIUS PRISCUS (before A.D. 244), a vice-præfect. Inscription, C.I.L. VI, 1638. Zosimus I, 19, 20. Inscription, C.I.Gr. 4602 and 4603. Inscription, from Suhba Domaszewski *Rh. mus.* LIV (1899), p. 159. (See Stein, *Archiv für Papyrus forschung* I, 1901, p. 448; *Prosopogr.* II, 208.
82. VALERIUS FIRMUS (A.D. June 246–March 247). *Amherst papyri* II, n. 72 (τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι Οὐαλερίῳ Φίρμῳ) and n. 81 ([το]ῦ λ[α]μπροτάτου ἡμῶν ἡγεμ[ό]νος Οὐαλε[ρίου] Φίρ[μο]υ). Hitherto unknown, if not the same as *Baebius Valerius Firmus*. (Inscription, *Rev. arch.* XXXIII, 1877, p. 357; *Prosopogr.* I, 228).*
83. AURELIUS APPIUS SABINUS (A.D. July 250). *Corpus papyrorum Raineri* I, 20. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VI, 40, and VII, 11. See Stein, *Jahresheft* III (1900), *Beiblatt*, col. 212; *Prosopogr.* I, 196.
84. MURRENTIUS MAURICIUS (about A.D. 255). *Historia Augusta*, Aurelian. 13, 1. See *Prosop.* II, 393. Mr. Stein kindly points out this might have been a præfect.
85. MARCUS IULIUS (?) AEMILIANUS (under Gallienus, 254–268). *Historia Augusta*, *Trig. tyr.* and *Vita Gallieni*. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VII, 11. Victor *Ep.*, 22. Coin, R. S. Poole, *British Museum, catal. of coins from Alexandria*, p. 299, n. 2306, pl. XXXII. See *Prosopogr.* I, 24; Cohen, *Medailles impériales* (Ed. II) VI, p. 12.
86. IUVENCUS (A.D. 266/267). *Rainer papyrus*, n. 2026. See Meyer, *Hermes* XXXIII (1898), p. 272; *Prosop.* II, 254.
87. CELERINUS (under Carus 282–284). Claudian, *Epithalam. Pall.*, 72. See Stein, *Hermes* XXXII (1897), p. 665; *Prosopogr.* I, 334.
88. SALLUSTIUS (before A.D. 288). *Amherst papyri* II, n. 137.
89. VALERIUS POMPEIANUS (A.D. 288/289). *Amherst papyri* II, n. 137. Cod. Iustin. VIII, 1, 3; IX, 9, 19; VI, 1, 2. See Borghesi X, 146.

* Inscription from Philippi: Βαίλιον Οὐ | αλέριον | Φίρμον τὸν | κράτιστον | ὁ δῆμος | ἐκ τῶν ιδίων.

90. POS[IDI]US (about A.D. 302). Inscription, C.I.Gr. 4681. (See Mahaffy *Athenæum*, Febr. 27, 1897).
91. CLODIUS CULCIANUS (A.D. Febr. 303). *Oxyrhynchus papyri* I, n. 71. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, VIII, 9, 10; IX, 11.
Acta SS. Marcelli, Mammeae (Bollandists *Act. Sanct. August.* vol. VI, pp. 13-14); *Acta SS. Phileae et Philoromi* (Ruinart *Acta sincera* p. 494); Epiphanius, vol. I, p. 717—See Valesius *Annot. in Eusebium*; Georgius De miraculis S. Colluthi, pp. xxxi, xlv, cxliii, cxliv, clxii, clxvii, clxxxii, 833; Le Blant *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr.* vol. xxx, part II (1883), p. 333-4
 Perhaps also Amherst II, n. 83. . . . *κίανος*.
92. SATRIUS ARRIANUS (A.D. 307). Grenfell, *Greek papyri*, II, n. 78.
93. . . . BĀNUS (late third or early fourth century). *Amherst papyri* II, n. 82.
94. FLAVIUS EPIPHANIUS (fourth century). Vienna papyrus, Wessely, *Etudes de papyrologie* I (1901), p. 2; apparently not the same as *Flavius Annius Eucharius Epiphanius*, præfect of Rome A.D. 412.
95. ANTONIUS GREGORIUS (A.D. 314). *Corpus papyrorum Raineri* I, 233, 8. See Meyer *Hermes* XXXIII (1898), p. 272.
96. SABINIANUS (A.D. Aug. 323). *Oxyrhynchus papyri* I, n. 60.
97. FLAVIUS ANTONIUS THEODORUS (A.D. March 338). *Oxyrhynchus papyri* I, n. 67.
98. FLAVIUS STRATEGIUS (A.D. 349). *Amherst papyri* II, n. 140: Φλ[αυίου Στ]ρ[α]τηγίου. Probably the same as the well known praetorian præfect of A.D. 358 STRATEGIUS MUSONIANUS. Athanasius (ed. Montfaucon, 1698) I, 154 and 352. Libanius *Epist.* 396, 451 and 1239. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 59, 60. Ammianus Marcellinus XV, 13; XVI, 9; XVII, 5. Libanius I, 58, and *Orat.* XVI, 6. Cod. Theod. I, 5, 6 and 7; VIII, 5, 5; XII, 2, 2; XIII, 5, 14; cf. Valesius, *Annot. in Marcellinum* (1636), p. 99; Borghesi X, 217.

99. NESTORIUS (A.D. 350). Athanasius (Montf.) I, 357 and 174, and 860. Euagrius, *Vita Antonii*, 86.
100. LONGINIANUS (A.D. 354). *Cod. Theod.* XVI, 2, 11.
101. MAXIMUS (A.D. 356). Athanasius (Montf.) I, 309 and 310: τὸν ἑπαρχὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου Μάξιμον.
102. PARNASIUS (A.D. 357). Amm. Marc. XIX, 12. Libanius, *Pro Aristophane* and *Epist.* 352 and 718. See Valesius, *Annot. in Marc.*, p. 172.
103. POMPONIUS METRODORUS (A.D. July 357). *Oxyrhynchus papyri*, I, n. 66.
104. SAINT ARTEMIUS (A.D. 360). Amm. Marc. XXII, 11 (see XVII, 11); Simeon Metaphrastes, *Vita Lucae* (Bollandists, *Act. Sanct. Octobr.* VIII, 311). Cassiodorus, *Historia tripartita*, VI, 36. Theodoretus, *Hist. Eccles.* III, 14 (=Migne, P.G. LXXXII, col. 1109). Julianus *Epist.* X (*ad Alexandrinos*) apud Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* III, 3 (=Migne, P.G. LXVII, col. 384). *Chronicon paschale* (Bonn edition) I, p. 549. Theophanes *Chronographia Maii*, pp. 288, 320, 330, 356). *Vita S. Artemii martyris* (Bollandists. *Act. Sanct. Octobr.* VIII, 856-885), etc. Is also mentioned in the various *Martyrologia* (20th October). See the Bollandist's *l.c.* pp. 847-885, where every possible detail of the question is carefully studied.
105. ECDICIUS (A.D. Dec. 362). *Cod. Theod.* XV, 1, 8 and 9. *Cod. Justin.* VIII, 11, 4. Julianus, *Epist.* 6; 9; 50; 86.
106. TATIANUS (A.D. May 367). *Chronicon Puteanum. Cod. Theod.* XII, 18, 1. Suidas s.v. Οὐάλης. *Vita Athanasii* in Photius *cod.* 258 (ed. Bekker, p. 484). See Gothofredus, *Prosopographia codicis Theodosiani*, s.v. *Tatianus*.
107. PUBLIUS (A.D. 369/370). *Chronicon Puteanum*.
108. TATIANUS (A.D. 371-373) for the second time. *Chronicon Puteanum*. John of Nikiou, *c.* 82.
109. AELIUS PALLADIUS (A.D. 374). *Chronicon Puteanum*. Inscription, C.I.Gr. 8610. Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.* IV, 19 (=Migne P.G. LXXXII, col. 1168). Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* IV, 21.

110. TATIANUS (A.D. 375) for the third time. *Chronicon Puteanum*.
111. HADRIANUS (A.D. 376/377). *Chronicon Puteanum*. Perhaps to be identified with one of the several men bearing the same *cognomen*, quoted by De Vit, *Onomasticon* III, 287.
112. FLAVIUS AELIUS GESSIUS (A.D. 378). Unpublished Munich papyrus, quoted by Wilcker, *Archiv* I (1901), p. 479.
113. IULIANUS (A.D. March 380). *Cod. Theod.* XII, 1, 80; XV, 1, 20. Inscription, C.I.Gr. 5071. *Anthologia Graeca* IV, 21 and 29. Perhaps also Libanius, *Epist.* 79 ad Anatolium. See Gothofredus *Pros. cod. Theod.* s.v. *Julianus*; De Vit *Onom.* III, 631.
114. PAULINUS (A.D. 380). *Chronicon Puteanum*.
115. BASSIANUS (A.D. 381). *Chronicon Puteanum*. Perhaps the same as the *Bassianus* mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus XXIX, 2, 5, and Libanius IV, 269, *epist. ad Rubinum*. See De Vit, *Onom.* I, 686.
116. PALLADIUS (A.D. May 382). *Cod. Theod.* VIII, 5, 37. *Chronicon Puteanum*.
117. HYPATIUS (A.D. May 383). *Cod. Theod.* XI, 36, 27. *Chronicon Puteanum*.
118. ANTONINUS (A.D. 383/384). *Chronicon Puteanum*.
119. FLORENTIUS (A.D. Dec. 384). *Cod. Theod.* IX, 33, 1. *Chronicon Puteanum*.
120. PAULINUS (A.D. July–Nov. 385) for the second time. *Cod. Theod.* XI, 39, 10. *Cod. Theod.* XII, 6, 22.
121. FLORENTIUS (A.D. Febr.–May 386) for the second time. *Cod. Theod.* I, 14, 1. *Cod. Theod.* XII, 1, 112. *Cod. Iustin.*
122. ERYTHRIUS (A.D. April 388). *Cod. Theod.* IX, 11, 1. Inscription, Sayce *Rev. ét. gr.* I, 1888, p. 317.
123. ALEXANDER (A.D. Febr. 390). *Cod. Theod.* XIII, 5, 18.
124. EUAGRIUS (A.D. June 391). *Cod. Theod.* XVI, 10, 11. Sozomenus, *Hist. Eccles.* VIII, 15 (= Migne P.G. LXVII, col. 1453). Eunapius *Vita Aedesii*, p. 73. Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* V, 16 (= Migne P.G. LXVII, col. 605) (?). Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Epist.* 153. See Gothofredus, *Pros. cod. Theod.* s.v. *Euagrius*.

125. POTAMIUS (A.D. March 392). *Cod. Theod.* I, 20, 2.
126. HYPATIUS (A.D. April 392) for the second time. *Cod. Theod.* XI, 36, 31; XIII, 5, 20.
127. POTAMIUS (A.D. June–July 392) for the second time. *Cod. Theod.* VIII, 5, 51; XII, 1, 126; XVI, 4, 3.
128. CLAUDIUS SEPTIMIUS EUTROPIUS (between A.D. 384 and 394). Inscription, Milne, *Hist.*, p. 195; perhaps the historian Eutropius who became *praefectus praetorii* in A.D. 385. See for the references Borghesi X, 55 and 450.
129. GENNADIUS (A.D. Febr. 396). *Cod. Theod.* XIV, 27, 1. *Cod. Justin.* I, 4, 5. Claudianus (ed. Koch), *Carmina minora* XIX (= XLIII). Synesius. *Epist.* LXXIII (= Migne P.G. LXVI, col. 1439).
130. REMIGIUS (A.D. Mar. 396). *Cod. Theod.* III, 1, 7. Claudianus? Synesius? Isidorus Pelusiota, *Epist.* 50? *Cod. Justin.* I, 20, 1. See Borghesi X, 292.
131. ARCHELAUS (A.D. June–Nov. 397). *Cod. Theod.* II, 1, 9; IX, 45, 2. *Cod. Justin.* I, 12, 1. Jerome, *Contra Joh. Hierosolym*, 39. See De Vit *Onom.* I, 423.
132. PENTADIUS (between A.D. 390 and 430). Synesius, *Epist.* XXIX, XXX, and CXVII (= Migne P.G. LXVI, col. 1358 and 1508).
133. EUTHALIUS (immediate successor of Pentadius). Synesius, *Epist.* CXXVI (= Migne P.G. LXVI, col. 1508).
134. AURELIUS CLEMENS (fourth or fifth century A.D.). Inscription, C.I.Gr. 5089. Perhaps not a praefect.
135. CALLISTUS (A.D. Aug. 414). Theophanes, *Chronogr.*, p. 72 (= Migne P.G. CVIII, col. 229).
136. ORESTES (A.D. 415). Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* VII, 13.
137. CHARMOSYNUS (A.D. April 435). Theophanes, *Chronogr.*, p. 82 (= Migne P.G. CVII, col. 252).
138. CLEOPATER (A.D. 435). *Cod. Theod.* VI, 28, 8.
139. THEODORUS (between A.D. 440 and 450). Isidorus Pelusiota, *Epist.* III. 50 (= Migne P.G. LXXVIII, col. 764). Liberatus diaconus *Breviarum causae Nestorianorum et*

- Eutychianorum* c. XIV (= Migne P.G. LXVIII, col. 1016). Perhaps the same man as Theodorus *praef. praet. Illyrici* in A.D. 444 (*Novell. Theod.* II, 226; Mansi *Concilia* VI, 566 and 940; see Borghesi X, 476). He would then have been praefect of Egypt about 440.
140. FLORUS (A.D. 453). Priscus *apud* Euagrium *Hist. Eccles.* II, 5. Jordanes *Rom.* 233 M. See De Vit *Onom.* III, 131.
141. ANTHEMIUS (between A.D. 479 and 482). *Cod. Justin.* X, 16, 13, and X, 19, 9. Liberatus *Brev.* c. XVI (= Migne P.G. LXVIII, col. 1020). See Lequien *Oriens christianus* II, 416.
142. APOLLONIUS (A.D. 482). Liberatus *Brev.* c. XVII (= Migne P.G. LXVIII, col. 1022).
143. EUSTATHIUS (A.D. 501). Eutych. II, 132. Probably also *Cod. Justin.* II, 8, 4, and IV, 35, 22.
144. THEODOSIUS (A.D. 516).* Malala XVI, 401 (= Migne P.G. XCVII, col. 593). John of Nikiou, c. 89. Liberatus *Brev.* c. XVIII (= Migne P.G. LXVIII, col. 1030). Theophanes *Chronogr.* p. 139 (= Migne P.G. CVIII, col. 380). See Lequien *Oriens christianus* II, 426.
145. DIOSCORUS (between A.D. 536 and 538). Liberatus *Brev.* c. XX (= Migne P.G. LXVIII, col. 1037).
146. RHODO (between A.D. 538 and 542). Liberatus *Brev.* c. XXIII (= Migne P.G. LXVIII, col. 1045).
147. LIBERIUS (between A.D. 538 and 542). Liberatus *Brev.* c. XXIII (= Migne P.G. LXVIII, col. 1045).
148. the nephew of Justinus Thrax (A.D. 563). Theophanes *Chronogr.* p. 206 (= Migne P.G. CVIII, col. 529).
149. IOHANNES (between A.D. 582 and 602). John of Nikiou, c. 97.
150. PAULUS (between A.D. 582 and 602). John of Nikiou, c. 97.
151. IOHANNES for the second time (between A.D. 582 and 602). John of Nikiou, c. 97.

* Mr. Milne's Calliopius (A.D. 514) is apparently not a praefect.

152. CONSTANTINUS (between A.D. 582 and 602). John of Nikiou, c. 97.
153. MENAS (between A.D. 582 and 602). John of Nikiou, c. 97. Paulus Diac. XVII.
154. MANUEL (A.D. 626). Theophanes *Chronogr.*, pp. 280 and 281. (=Migne P.G. CVIII, col. 692, 693).
155. THEODORUS (A.D. 639). John of Nikiou, c. 111.

The reader will have remarked that, whereas my previous list stopped in the year 232, the one given in the present article is brought down to A.D. 639, the year before the conquest of Egypt by Amrû. These late præfects, known as *Augustales*, have attracted far less attention than the earlier ones of the time of the Antonines. However, as early as the seventeenth century, a good list of them was published by Du Cange *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, s.v. *Augustalis* (ed. Favre I, 477). More recently, in A.D. 1850, a second list, *less* complete than the first one, was compiled by Franz, C.I.Gr. Vol. I, page 323 (followed by De Vit *Onomasticon* I, 92). A much better list is the one given by Mr. Milne *History*, p. 180 sq. His references to patristic literature are however somewhat insufficient, and several præfects have escaped his attention. The above list is, to my knowledge, a *more* complete one than any yet published, but my only desire is that a competent scholar, well at home with the Greek fathers, should point out in my article the numerous errors and omissions I have certainly committed.

I am contemplating the plan of a short book on the præfects of Egypt, their career, their duties, and their attributions. Such a work would make an appropriate subject for a *Thèse de Doctorat* in Paris University.

P.S.—I have to thank Mr. Arthur Stein for reading through most carefully the proofs of this article. I owe to his kindness many valuable references and suggestions.

GREEK TRANSCRIPTIONS OF BABYLONIAN TABLETS.

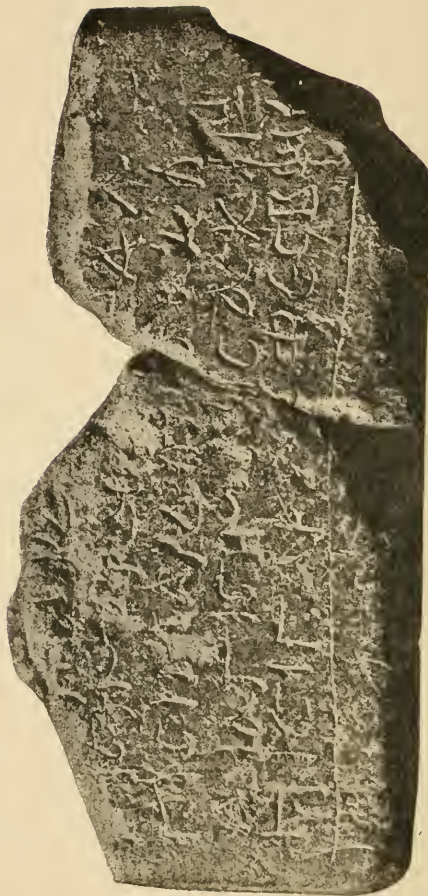
BY T. G. PINCHES, *LL.D.*

Among the most interesting of the inscriptions in cuneiform characters at the British Museum, are certain fragments of unbaked clay tablets inscribed on the reverse with characters which are not composed of wedges, but of lines. These characters are of the familiar form of those used in Greek uncial inscriptions, and were early recognized as such, when Professor Sayce copied them many years ago. At that time, however, they were far too fragmentary to allow of much being made out, and the connection of the two scripts was not by any means clear.

Three or four years ago, however, I received instructions to prepare catalogue-slips of portions of the Sp. II, or second Spartali collection, and then had an opportunity of examining them more closely. In the process of revising these catalogue slips, and in order to make the work as complete as possible, I received permission to look through the other collections (about 13,000 tablets) which were likely to aid me in the work, and whilst doing this I was able to note nearly all the fragments bearing Greek transcriptions, and put together those which joined. It was then that their true nature became apparent. They proved to be texts in list form explaining Akkadian words, a fragment of a bilingual text (inter-linear), and a flake (the Greek only preserved) referring to Babylon. It then became clear that they were not Greek translations of the cuneiform texts, but transcriptions of Akkadian and Semitic Babylonian words into Greek characters, and therefore documents of the highest importance for the philology of these two languages.

It is greatly to be regretted that these inscriptions are so few, but further explorations on the site whence they came would doubtless result in important additions to their number. Unfortunately, however, the collections to which they belong were all purchased, and when that is the case, it is impossible to find out where the things were found.

PLATE I.



TABLET IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

SP. III. 245 + 81-7-6, 141 (35726).

Greek Text.

As nearly as can be judged, the tablets, when complete, were about 5 inches broad by 9 inches high, not over carefully formed, but made of very solid clay which, though unbaked, has excellently withstood the attacks of damp and all other dangers to which objects buried in the ground for more than 2000 years are exposed. The writing, both Babylonian and Greek, is large, but the characters are roughly formed, and were at first exceedingly difficult to read. Unlike the great majority of tablets from Babylonia and Assyria, these do not turn over from top to bottom, but from right to left, or the reverse.

The following is a copy of Sp. III, 245 + 81-7-6, 141 (35726), with variants and completions from the Louvre tablet A O. 2131 (a):—(Plate I.)

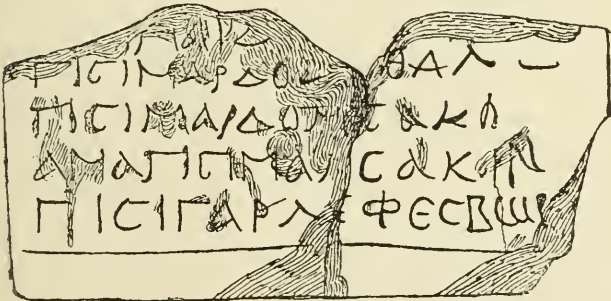
BABYLONIAN SIDE.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵

* Louvre tablet 𐎶𐎵.

† The Louvre tablet omits 𐎶𐎵.

‡ Wanting on the Louvre tablet.



Sp. III, 245 + 81-7-6, 141 (35726).
GREEK SIDE.

BABYLONIAN (ordinary transcription).		GREEK TRANSCRIPTION.
		[χιμι]δ [ου]
D.P. gišimmar dumu-dumu	ta-a-lum*	χιμιμαρ δομ θαλ
D.P. gišimmar dumu-dumu	ša† kin-nu	χιμιμαρ δομ σακιν
D.P. ama gišimmar	do.	αμα χιμιμαρ σακιν
D.P. gišimmar lipiš-bur-ra	la-ab-bu	χιμιμαρ λεφες βωρ . . .
D.P. gišimmar nu†-lipiš-ḫab-ba	do.	[no Greek transcription.]

* Louvre tablet : *lu*.

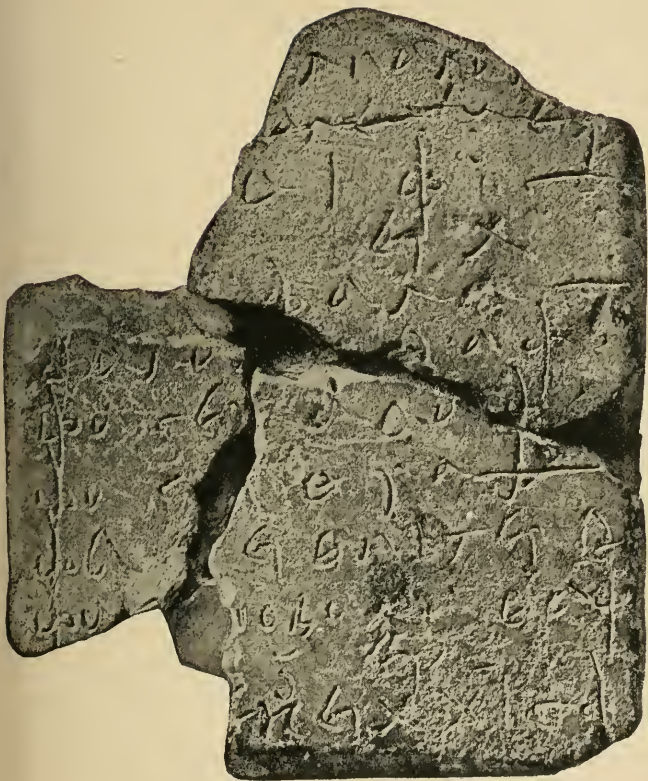
† Wanting on the Louvre tablet.

It will therefore be seen that the Greek transcriber wrote *gišimmar* with one *m*, and left the D.P. (determinative prefix) unpronounced—the general opinion of Assyriologists to-day. *Dumu* appears as *dom*, and, where reduplicated, this reduplication is not represented in the Greek transcription, the object of the transcriber apparently being to indicate *once* the reading of each word or character (one of the other inscriptions shows this clearly). Of great importance is the transcription of *lephes* as the pronunciation of $\langle \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \rangle$, showing, as it does, that not only the Babylonians and Assyrians, but also the Akkadians, had the sound of *ph* or *f*, and also that the vowel in each case was not *i*, but *e*. In the syllabaries, the character may be read either *ligir* or *lipiš*, and the present text shows that the former reading is wrong. *Lepheš* must henceforth be regarded as the right reading.

There is one point which is rather remarkable, namely, that in the last line of the Greek transcription, instead of *gišimar*, the word given is the (seemingly) non-dialectic form *gisigar*, showing that, by some tradition, the older and more correct form was retained in a few cases. It is also noteworthy that the pronunciation of $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$ is given as *bōr*, with omega. *Dom*, however, the pronunciation of $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$, commonly transcribed *dumu*, is to all appearance written with omicron.

Notwithstanding the full writing of the words *tālum* (*thālum*) and *ša kinnu*, the Greek transcription gives no trace of the case-endings, unless the horizontal line after *θαλ* be intended to indicate some indeterminate sound which could not be expressed by the letters of the Greek alphabet. There is also, moreover, every probability that the terminal *u* of the Akkadian word *dumu*, which

LATE II.



TABLET IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

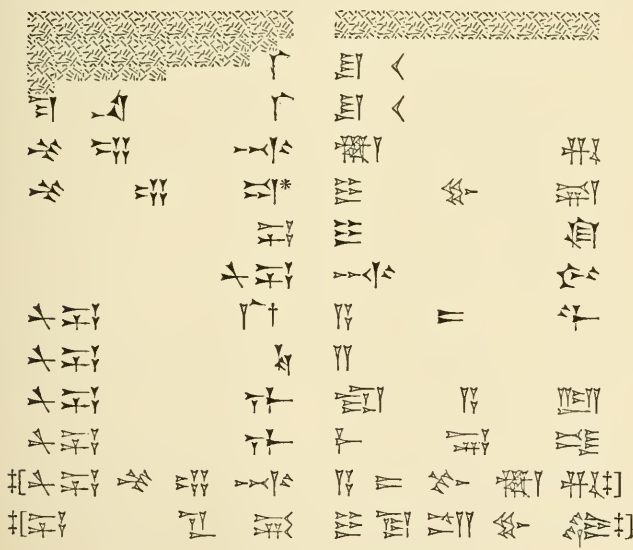
SP II. 290 + SP. III. 247 (34797).

Greek Text.

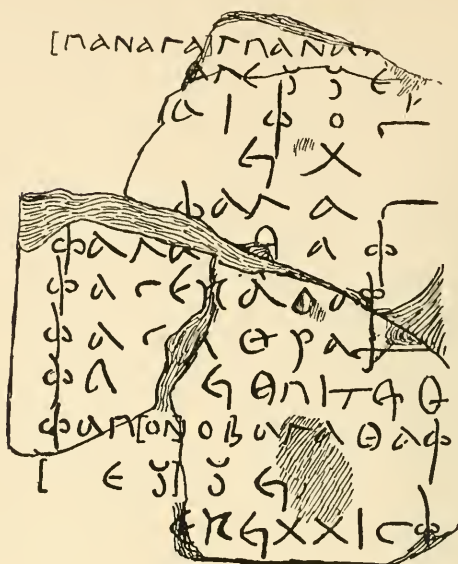
is not, properly, a case-ending, is not written in the Greek transcription, there being evidently insufficient space for it, especially in the third line (*gisimar dom sa kin*). This would imply that the case-endings in Semitic Babylonian, and the vocalic lengthening in Akkadian, were both unpronounced, at least in later times. From the loose use of the case-endings in a large number of the inscriptions this was presupposed, but the texts now published would seem to place it beyond a doubt.

To all appearance the character at the end of the third Greek line is a ligature containing the two letters *uv*, *σα κιν* being the words which ought to stand there. The Greek transcription of the last Babylonian line is omitted, possibly because it had already been given, from time to time, in other parts of the tablet, now lost. The character *nu* before *lephes* (to adopt the Greek transcription) is wanting on the Louvre fragment, as is also the *ša* of *ša kinnu*.

The next piece is larger, but more mutilated, and if anything, rougher written. It is valuable, however, in that it contains more words. (Plate II.)



* W.A.I. II, 38, 12, .
+ W.A.I. II, 38, 16 .
++ These lines are from W.A.I. II, 38.



GREEK SIDE.

BABYLONIAN (ordinary transcription).

. -lal do. -u (= . . . -lu-u)
 ma - na - lal do. -u (= manalu-u)
 mu - un - pal iḫ - ri
 mu - un - du* i - pu - uš
 e i - ki
 pa pal - gu
 pa - lal a - tap - pi
 pa - sig do.
 pa - šit ra - a - tu
 pa - šit me - tir - tum
 pa mu-un- bal a-tap-pu iḫ-ri
 e si - ga i-ku iš-pu-uk

GREEK TRANSCRIPTION.

[μαναλ]λ μαναλ[. . .]
 αλ εἰς εἰ
 ὁ ιφος
 εἰχ
 φαλαγ
 φαλα[λ α]θαφ
 φα σεκ αθαφ
 φα σειθ ρατ
 φα σειθ μιτερθ
 { φα μ[ον]οβα[λ] αθαφ
 [εἰ]ς εἰ
 . . . εκ εἰχχ ισφ . . .

The difficulty of this text is considerable, presenting, as it does, more of the character of leaves from a student's notebook than a document written out for preservation in a library or for teaching purposes. Thus, in consequence of the lines *mu-nu-pal* = *iḫ-ri*, "he dug," *e* = *e-ki*, "water-channel," and *pa-lal* = *a-tap-pu*,

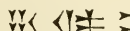
* It is noteworthy that the Babylonian variant, , *du*, supports the Greek in making the reading of  *du*, and not *ru*, as is often transcribed.

"water-channel," he has not thought it worth while to write the Babylonian characters of the last two lines of the extract (*pa mu-un-bal* = *a-tap-pu il-ri*, "he dug a water-channel," and *e si-ga* = *i-ku iš-pu-uk*, "the water-channel poured forth"). As it happens, this has not proved to be an omission by any means serious, the duplicate published in *W.A.I.* II, pl. 38, which supplies (lines 16 and 17) the characters wanting here, enables the Greek transcription to be identified as far as it is preserved.

Notwithstanding the mutilation of the Greek transcription, certain points of considerable importance come out clearly enough. Thus we learn, among other things, that the group  was pronounced *pha* (a small fragment in the British Museum* gives the value of *pā*); that the word given as *iki* (the nominative is *iku*, as in the completion from the Assyrian duplicate in the last line) was pronounced as *eich* (*eichch* in the last Greek line). This is an example of the aspiration of the *k* (caph) just as *φ* indicates the aspiration of the *p*, and is rather a difficult sound for an English mouth to produce. In Hebrew, the Jews of the continent and the East still make the distinction between the aspirated and the unaspirated *k*, the former being a sound closely allied to the guttural *kḥ* (kheth).† It is apparently on this account that it is represented on these tablets by the Greek *χ*.

Other examples of aspiration are *athaph*, showing that the proper transcription of *atappu* (lines 6 and 10) is *athaffu*; and *išph* . . . , indicating that *išpu* had also *ph* or *f* instead of *p*, and the final *k* may also have been aspirated (*išphoch*). One of the most remarkable things about the Greek transcription, however, is that *ihri* is represented by a group in which the same character occurs twice (Greek, lines 2 and 11). This would imply that the writer (whom I assume to have been a Greek‡) heard the same sound doubled

* Since published in "Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets," pt. XII, pl. 32 (19070).

† Something similar seems also to occur in *W.A.I.*, II, 34, line 34, where we find the final character of  glossed with , making *hadilḥa*, which, as the  (= ditto + *ha*) in the explanatory column shows, was the real pronunciation. Compare also *tamāḥu*, "to hold," Heb. תִּמְאָח. Other examples of this change could also be quoted.

‡ A native Babylonian would not have needed transcriptions of Babylonian and Akkadian words into Greek characters, and the writer is hardly likely to have been a Græcised Babylonian learning his own language by means of the Greek alphabet to give him the true pronunciation.

instead of the consonants *hr*. The question therefore naturally arises, whether the Babylonian *r* was like the French *r* *grassayé*, and therefore capable of being represented by some character representing that sound—that it was probably not the Greek *ρ*, is indicated by the fact that this letter is written thus, *ρ*, on other fragments and in the monogram or ligature *ερ* (the discovery of which is due to the acuteness of Prof. Sayce) in line 9 of the Greek transcription, whereas in this word we have always the letter *ζ*. Perhaps it is the symbol used by the writer for *kh*, in consequence of the use of *χ* for aspirated *k*, in which case the *r* was entirely unrepresented. Or, perhaps, the *r*, being, like the *h*, guttural, and pronounced in the same place, the two sounds were assimilated, or pronounced as if assimilated, and the Greek transcriber, having heard them as one, represented them by the same symbol, making a word which would probably be fairly reproduced by the combination of letters *ehrhrei*, instead of *ihri*.

Absence of the vocalic ending in Semitic Babylonian has already been referred to when speaking of the first fragment, and it is to be noted that this inscription has the same peculiarity. Not only, however, is the Semitic case-ending of the nominative wanting, but the phonetic lengthening of the Akkadian words is altogether neglected. Indeed, the Akkadian root *du*, "to make," is represented by *δ* only, and the word *šiga*, "to pour out," appears as *σεκ*. In this latter case, there is not only the omission of the lengthening *a*, which the published duplicate has, but the final consonant *g* is changed into *k*, as in words borrowed from the Akkadian language by the Semitic Babylonians (e.g. *asakku* from the Akkadian *azag*, apparently a synonym of *kaspu*, "silver"). The change of *g* into *k* is also seen in *σεκ* (Prof. Sayce) in line 7. On the other hand, *mu-un-bal* in line 11 appears as *μovoβλ*, with *o* after the *n* in the Greek transcription.

As there is no difficulty in pronouncing *monbal*, the insertion of an *o* after the *n* by the transcriber must be regarded as due to a slip of the pen.* Not so, however, with *phalag* for *phalgu* in line 6.

* Perhaps the loss of the vowel of the root *du* in line 4 may explain this. The Babylonian text shows that the line is to be read as *mu-un-du* (*mondu*). When the final vowel disappeared, however, it was necessary to have some means of pronouncing what remained, and the placing of a vowel before the *d* would therefore only be natural. This would produce the form *monod*, of which *monobal* would be an imitation.

The insertion of this *a* after the *l* is simply due to the fact that the word would not have been easy to pronounce without it after the falling away of the case-ending—indeed, the Semitic Oriental of the present day always puts in a vowel to ease the utterance of a word whenever he can, though a European would generally find but little difficulty. In *miterth* (Prof. Sayce), however, there is no vowel between the *r* and the *th*, though this might reasonably have been expected. With regard to this word, it may be noted that the published text, which restores the Semitic rendering in this place, has *metirtu* (*metirthu*), a reading which would rather support George Smith's transcription of 𐎢𐎠, *me*, as *mi* and 𐎠𐎢𐎠, *mi*, as *me*, though Assyriologists in general do not agree with him in this. Any weight which the Greek transcription might have in this case would naturally depend on the reading of the transcriber's text (which is not given) and Babylonian usage at the late date of these tablets.

A certain importance is attached to the transcription of the two dentals, the one by *θ*, and other by *τ*. As the termination of *miterth* shows, the former corresponds with the Heb. 𐤌, and the word *rat*, in the foregoing line, shows that *τ* is here used to render the Heb. 𐤎. Nevertheless, we cannot argue from this that the sound corresponding with the Heb. 𐤌 was always pronounced *th*, any more than we can that the use of *τ* to express the sound corresponding with 𐤎 shows that the Greek *τ* was always used to express that letter.* Two different ways of pronouncing the Semitic Babylonian 𐤌 are shown in the well-known name Tiglathpileser (= *Tukulth(i)-âpil-êšarra*), but the pronunciation of this letter as *th* was certainly very common. We may regard it as having been pronounced as *th* when it appears as part of the feminine termination of the nouns, and perhaps of the verbs and adjectives as well. This seems to be shown also by such words as 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠, the Babylonian *lilitu* (*lilithu*). In some cases *th* appears to have gone over into *s* (as in the Syrian dialect of modern Arabic), producing such forms as *issi* for *itti* (*iththi*), "with;" 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢, *pis-qu-du*, for 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢, *pit(h)-qu-du*, "he had care for" (Aššur-našir-âpli, I, line 25); 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢, *in-na-bis*, for

* An illustration of this is the Greek *πολιτῆς*, the plural of which appears as 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢, *pu-li-ti-e*, or 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢, *pu-li-te-e*, in Babylonian. Another Babylonian form of the plural of the word is 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢, *pu-li-ta-nu*.

𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 =||||, *in-na-bit(h)*, "he fled" (K. 1674, dupl. of *W.A.I.* I, pl. 38, line 37); and probably also 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭, *na-ba-su*, for 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭, *na-ba-ti* (for *na-ba-tu*), and 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭, *ki-ri-is-su*, from the Akkadian *kirit*, which last, however, looks as if it came from the Semitic Babylonian. (*Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, II, p. 259, note 9, and 264, note 2).

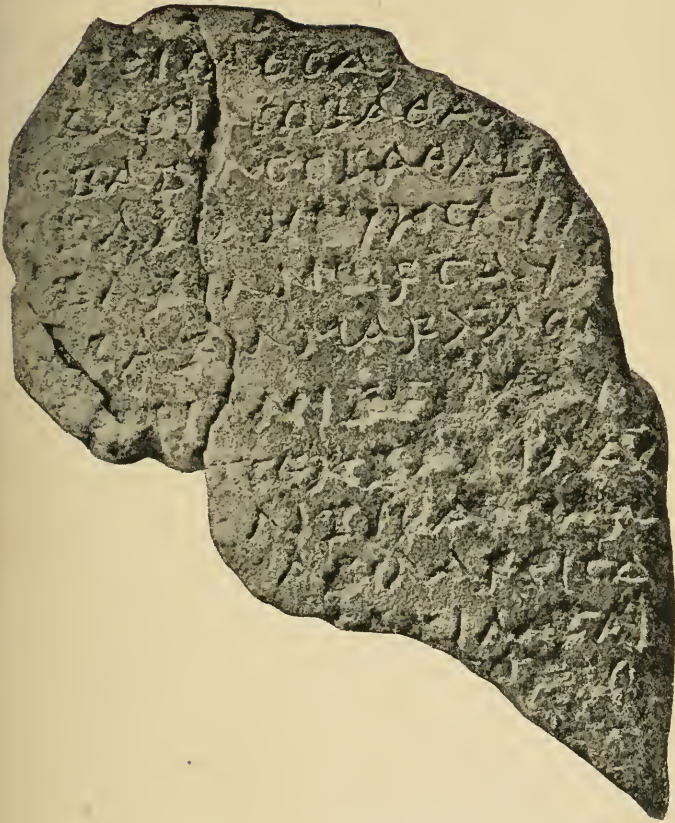
In connection with the Greek transcription of the character corresponding with 𐤀 may be noted that, although the word *αθαφ* in the Greek seventh line is very clear, the *θ* in the next line wants that roundness which characterises that letter in the other places where it occurs, and that, in the photograph, there are no signs of the cross stroke within. In fact, it looks somewhat like the *δ* in line 3, and there is, on that account, the probability that the transcriber wrote here *αδαφ* instead of *αθαφ*, implying *dñ* instead of *th*. If this be the reading, it is probably due to a slip of the pen on the transcriber's part, for it is hardly likely that a Greek or a Babylonian would confuse the two sounds.

In some cases, as in the other inscriptions with Greek pronunciation, the length of the vowels is indicated, as in *seith* (Prof. Sayce) = *sīth*, and the Semitic *eich* = *īc(h)u*. The long vowel at the end of *εῖῥετ* (lines 3 and 12 of the Greek text), is of importance, because it shows that the final vowel of *ihri*, "he dug," was long, and that it ought to be marked as such, though not so written in the inscriptions. This is in accordance with the usage for words such as *garû*, which is weak of the third radical.

Besides these inscriptions in the form of extracts from the explanatory lists of Babylonia and Assyria, others of a connected nature exist. Of one of these there is at present no copy, except that made many years ago by Prof. Sayce. Unfortunately, it contains the beginnings of the Babylonian lines, and the ends of the Greek transcription. The Akkadian verbal prefixes, however, which appear as *nam-mu-un* in the Babylonian character, according to the common transcription, are given as *ναμων*, *namon*, in Greek. It is hoped that we may eventually be able to give a fac-simile of this.

Another very interesting piece is that formed of the two fragments Sp. II, 291 + Sp. III, 311 (Plate III). As will be seen, it is a Greek transcription of a tablet with several references to the city of Babylon. The text is as follows:—

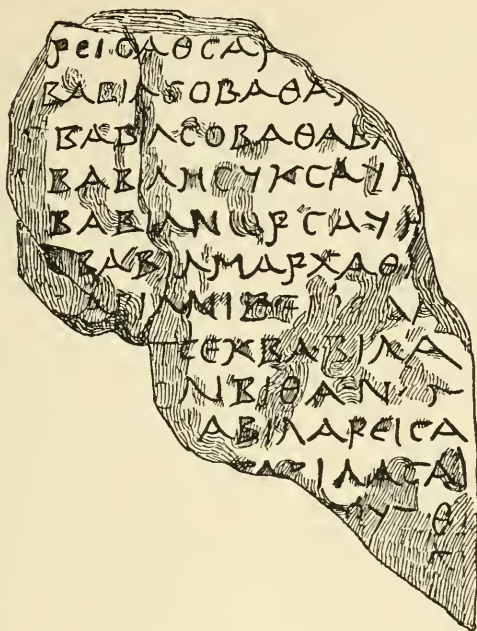
PLATE III.



TABLET IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

SP. II. 291 + SP. III. 311 (34798).

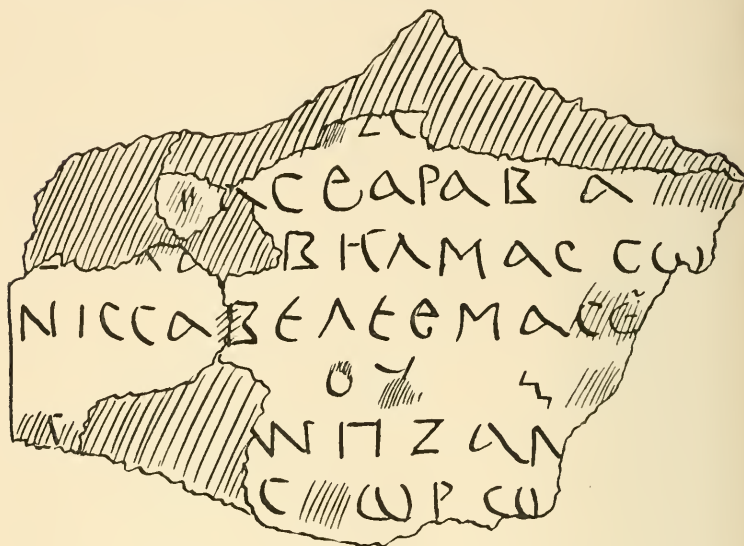
Greek text only, the obverse being lost.



Sp. II, 291 + Sp. III, 311.

The above includes the readings of a rough and unfinished copy which I made several years ago, and has been carefully compared with Prof. Sayce's excellent transcription given on p. 123. The principal differences are, *μουκ* rather than *ημουκ* in line 4, *τσεκ* instead of *πεκ* in line 8, and *λιβιθ* rather than *νβιθ* in line 9. The first of these three readings is naturally doubtful on account of the defacement of the tablet, but the others I believe to be fairly certain. *Libith* is the well-known *libittu* (*libiththu*), "brickwork," or "foundation," a word which occurs often. This reading also raises the question whether *sek* in the foregoing line, may not be the Akkadian synonym of *libittu*, written *šeg* in the bilingual inscriptions. If this be the case, line 9 would be a translation of line 8, though considerable doubt as to this must be admitted, the name Babil not being repeated (to all appearance) in line 9. With regard to the nature of the inscription, it is either in praise of Babylon, or else of one of the deities of the city. In this case the text might be similar to that of which a fragment is preserved in the Imperial Museum of Berlin, of which a copy by Dr. Messerschmidt is here given. As Prof. Sayce points out, the first line of the fragment, so far as it is preserved,

see ns to contain the words *Asthara Babil*, "Istar of Babylon," and refers also to Bel and Beltis (*Beleth*).



TABLET IN BERLIN MUSEUM, VATH. 412.

From a copy by Dr. L. Messerschmidt.

The last fragment to which we have access, though clearly written, is unfortunately too small to enable any certain information to be gleaned as to its nature. It is numbered 35727, and belongs to the collections of the British Museum:—



..... λ ι ς . . .
 φ α λ ι ς (?)
 χ ε ι θ
 σ α φ α λ ι ς
 ο (?) α . .
 ε α (?) α (?)
 λ

Sp. III, 24b (35727).

To all appearance the second line contains the same word (? or words) as the fourth, namely, *saphalis* (? = *šapliš*, below). The meaning of *cheith* in line 3 is, in the absence of a context, doubtful. Still less can be said as to the remainder of the inscription.

Prof. Sayce has dealt most excellently with the text of the inscription at Berlin, and to this I have at present nothing to add.* His remarks upon these inscriptions, which will be found on pp. 120-125, have enabled me, as the reader will have seen, to improve my readings in several places.

* These Greek transcriptions of Babylonian words unfortunately give no indications as to the true pronunciation of *š* (𐎶) in Semitic Babylonian or Assyrian. It is always represented by *σ*, and in the only place where *s* (𐎶) seems to be written, the same Greek equivalent occurs. Judging from the Aramaic dockets and other sources, *š* and *s*, though corresponding etymologically with 𐎶 and 𐎶, were generally pronounced as *s* and *sh* respectively. There is no doubt that the two letters differed very considerably in sound, and the Greeks at Babylon must have been aware of it. As, however, the name of 𐎶 is given in Greek as *σαμεχ*, and that of 𐎶 as *σεν* (LXX, ed. Swete), the Greek writers seem not to have troubled to make any distinction, and it is doubtful whether documents of this class (should further examples be found) will shed any light upon the question.



THE GREEKS IN BABYLONIA: GRÆCO-CUNEIFORM
TEXTS.

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., &c.

Dr. Pinches has given so full an account of the Græco-cuneiform fragments which have been found in Babylonia, that he has not left me much to add. But he has omitted to mention one fact, and that is that the discovery of the nature of the Greek transcripts is entirely his own. When I copied the fragments many years ago, shortly after their arrival in England, I was utterly unable to explain them; so also was Dr. Birch, to whom I showed my copies. All we could conjecture was that they contained proper names or incantatory formulæ. As I was unable to understand them, I put them aside, hoping that light would be thrown upon them at some future day. Some years afterwards, when I was in Berlin in 1889, I noticed a similar fragment in the Museum of West-Asiatic Antiquities; this I copied. A revised copy of it has now been sent to me by the kindness of Dr. L. Messerschmidt, but unfortunately the cuneiform text which once accompanied the Greek transcript is lost.

On palæographical grounds the fragments cannot be referred to an earlier date than the end of the second century B.C. On the other hand, the latest date given us by a cuneiform tablet is B.C. 80, which is found on an astrological tablet published by Dr. Strassmaier in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, III, 3, p. 135 (though it must be remarked that the dates given in the text are incorrect, the scribe having interchanged the Seleukid and Arsakid eras). The Berlin fragment (Th. 412) forms part of a collection which includes the bilingual hymns published by Dr. Reisner; the dates attached to these range from B.C. 163 to B.C. 81, and they all come from Babylon, as is made clear by their colophons.* The Greek transcripts, accordingly, will have been made in the period which begins about B.C. 140 and ends in B.C. 80. The fact is of some importance for

* Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit.*, pp. XI, XIV.

the history of Greek writing in Western Asia, and will constitute a fixed starting-point in future researches into the palæography of the Seleukid kingdom.

I have nothing to add to Dr. Pinches' account of the first fragment (Sp. III, 245 + 81-7-6, 141) except that in the first line the photograph shows that we have [ΓICI]M&P Δ[OM], while in the fifth line φες is preceded by Λ[Ε]. There is no vocalic ending to the word ΔOM "son." In the second line ΑΛ is preceded by Θ, the Greek letters being ΘΑΛ. This is confirmed by a fragment of a list of date-palms marked Α Ο 2131 (a), which is now in the Louvre, where it was copied this summer by Dr. Pinches. His copy is as follows:—

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	gisimmar	dumu-dumu	ta-a-lu
𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	gisimmar	dumu-dumu	kin-nu
𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	ama	gisimmar	do.
𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	gisimmar	lipes-bur-ra	la-ab-bi

Dr. Pinches suggests that *kinnu* signifies "the palm-cabbage" and *labbi* a "stunted" or "dead palm." *Tālu* is the "young palm."

The photograph of the second fragment has enabled me to make out most of the Greek transcript, which is as follows:—

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. [ΜΟΥ]ΝΛΑΛΑ . . . | 8. ΦΑCΕΚ ΑΘΑΦΕ |
| 2. [ΜΟΥΝΟ]ΠΑΛΕΨΕΙ | 9. ΦΑCΕΙΘ ΡΑΤ |
| 3. . . . ΑΙΦΟC | 10. ΦΑ[C]ΕΙΘ ΠΙΤΕΡΘ |
| 4. [ΑΙ] ΕΙΧ | 11. ΦΑΜ[ΟΥ]ΝΟΒΑΛΑΘΑΦ |
| 5. . . . ΦΑΛΑΓ | 12. [Ε]Ψ ΡΕΙ |
| 6. [ΠΑ?] ΦΑΛΑΓ | 13. [ΑΙC]ΕΚ ΕΙΧΧΙCΦ |
| 7. ΦΑΛΑΛ [Α]ΘΑΦ | |

The new character which has been formed out of the Greek P is very remarkable. As Dr. Pinches points out, it is an attempt to represent a Semitic sound (𐤐) which must have resembled the modern Egyptian Arabic pronunciation of *ghain*. We may gather from it that the Greek Γ had not yet acquired its modern pronun-

ciation, at all events in Babylonia, otherwise it would have been used instead of the new letter. In line 12, it will be noticed, the new letter is followed by an ordinary P.

The Greek aspirates, as is well known, had lost their aspiration before the end of the first century B.C., and accordingly are treated by Dionysius Thrax as simple sounds, like our *th* and *ph*, in place of the older *k-h*, *p-h* and *t-h*, in which both the surd and the aspirate were pronounced. In line 7 it is interesting to find that *teth* is represented by T; it will consequently have had the same pronunciation (that of English *t*) as *ta* in modern Egyptian Arabic. *Aiphos* in line 3 I identify with *epus* "he made"; in W.A.I. II, 38, 14 *e*: *i-[ki]* is preceded by *mu-un-rû*: *i-pu-[us]*.

The Greek transcript thus will read:—

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. [mu]n-lal a . . . | 8. pha-sek athaphe |
| 2. [muno]-pal errei (= ikhri) | 9. pha-seith rat |
| 3. . . . aiphos (= epus) | 10. pha-seith piterth |
| 4. [ai] eikh (= iki) | 11. pha m[u]n-o-bal athaph |
| 5. . . . phalag | 12. [e]rrei |
| 6. [pa] phalag | 13. [ai-s]ek eikhkh-isph(ukh) |
| 7. phalal [a]thaph | |

Want of space has prevented the scribe from transcribing the last syllable of *ispuk*, though it may have been written on the edge of the tablet. *Seith* is *sit*, an ordinary value of 𐎶𐎵. In line 11 *o* probably corresponds with the cuneiform *a* which we have in line 2, according to W.A.I. II, 38, 12 ([*mu-un-*]*a-pal*). The loss of the case-endings of the Babylonian noun is paralleled by the history of the other Semitic languages.* In line 8, however, I see traces of a final E. But there is one important variation between the Greek transcript and the cuneiform original as given in W.A.I. II, 38, 16. Where the cuneiform text has *me-kal-tum* the Greek has *πιτερθ*. I can account for this only by supposing that the Greek copyist mistook the sign of division between the Sumerian and Semitic words for a part of the first character of the Babylonian word, thus

* Dr. Pinches has pointed out to me an instance in which the loss of the case-endings is shown to have begun as far back as the time of Nebuchadrezzar. In Strassmaier's *Nebuch.*, 29, 5, we have the female name Bilitabni "apparently written for Beleth-tabni, which ought to be for Beltu-tabni."

changing 𐤁 𐤍 *me* into 𐤁 𐤍 *pi*, and that he further misread 𐤁 𐤍 𐤍 for 𐤁 𐤍 𐤍 .*

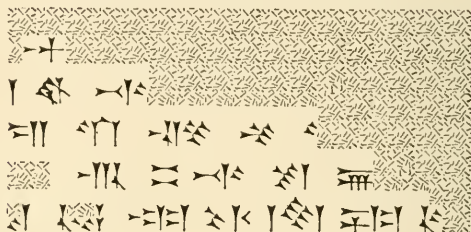
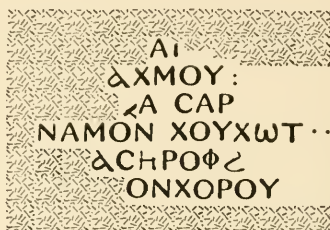
The third fragment (Sp. II, 291 + III, 311) is written in letters of rather earlier form than the cursive hand of the second fragment. I read it as follows:—

1. [A?] PEICAΘCAP . . .
2. BABIA COBAΘAB . . .
3. BABIA COBAΘABA . . .
4. BABIA HMYK CAYH . . .
5. BABIA NWP CAYH . . .
6. BABIA MAPXAΘN (?) . . .
7. BABIA NIB (?) E (?)
8. ΠΕΚ ΒΑ[B]ΙΛΑ
9. N BIΘAC (?) N . . .
10. . . . [B]ABIA APEICA
11. . . . [B]A[B]ΙΑ AC (?) AI

The beginnings of the lines are lost, but the text is evidently a hymn, probably in honour of Bel-Merodach, the patron-god of Babylon. In lines 4, 5, *ημυκ σαυη* and *νωρ σαυη* are evidently *emuk samê* "the depth of heaven," and *nûr samê* "the light of heaven." Hesychius states that among the Babylonians *σαύη* meant *κόσμος*, and Lenormant long ago pointed out that *σαύη* must be the Assyrian *samê*. It is even possible that the work quoted by the Greek lexicographer was based on transcripts of cuneiform texts similar to the fragments we have been considering. We know that Berossos translated the great astronomical work of the Babylonians into Greek. In lines 1 and 10 we seem to have *ar isat* and *ar isa* "offspring (?) of fire," which in line 1 is followed by *sar(ru)* "king." In line 9 we have *bit* "house," the vowel of which would be short in the construct case.

* Since the above was written I have noticed a passage in the newly-published *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, XII, pl. 16, ll. 30-34, which shows that the Greek transcriber was right after all. Here we read: [*pa*: KUR]-E: (*paḫpu-egu*): *pal-gu, sug (?) -tum, ra-a-da, a-taḫ-pu, miter(dir)-tum*. As the Greek letter which I have transcribed Π may also be Μ, it is clear that the correct reading is ΜΙΤΕΡΘ, the Babylonian word being *mitert(um)*.

The fourth fragment, which was unnumbered when I copied it, has not yet been found again. My copy is as follows:—



In the fourth line of the Greek transcript *nam-on* corresponds with the cuneiform *nam-mu-[un]*, and we probably have the same Sumerian words in the sixth line. The fragment appears to belong to a bilingual hymn. Perhaps the fourth line of the cuneiform text is [*ana*] *ri-bi-ti te-ir* “return to the public place.” It is possible to read the fifth line of the Greek *êroph-s*, i. e., *erub-s(i)*.

The fifth fragment, of which a photograph is given (Sp. III, 246), is too much broken to yield any sense, though *palig* “canal” seems to occur in it.

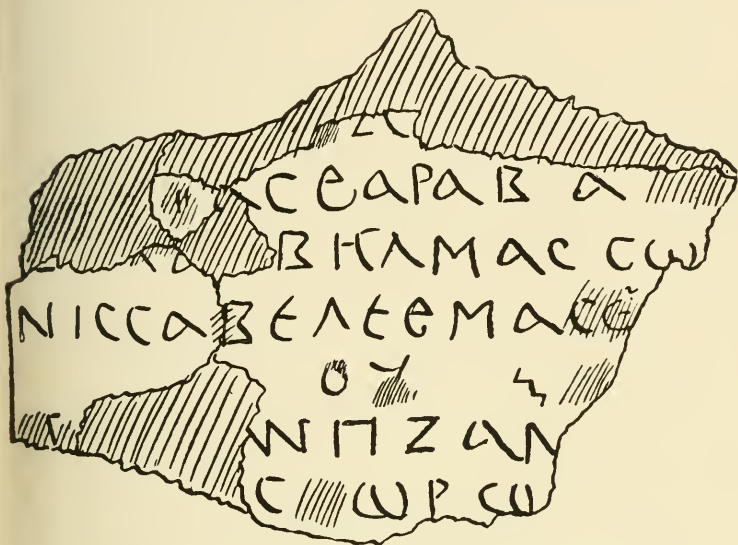
The Berlin fragment, of which Dr. Messerschmidt's copy is here given, is interesting on account of the difference in the quantity of the vowel which it shows to have existed between the words *bêl* and *bêlēth* (*bilit*). In the last line my copy has **CY(?)WBCW**.

The transcription of the text as given by Dr. Messerschmidt will be:—

1. . . ACΘAPA BA . . .
2. . . BHΛ MACCΩ . . .
3. NICCA BEΛEΘ MACC . . .
4. . . OY . . .
5. . . N Γ I Z A N . . .
6. . . CY(?) W P C O . . .

1. . . Asthara Ba[bil] . . .
2. . . Bêl massô . . .
3. nissa Beleth mass[ô] . . .
4. . . u . . .
5. . . ngizan .
6. . . sy(?) ôrsô . . .

This is evidently "Istar of Babil," "Bel the steward" (*maššu*) and "Bilit the stewardess." In line 3 I would suggest that *nissa* is *nisu* or *nesu* "spirit," and that the passage comes from an incantatory text,—"[Spirit] of Istar," etc. It is important to notice that the initial vowel of *Istar*, or rather *Istaru*, is *a* as in Canaanitish, and that there is no difference between the pronunciation of *ś* (*śamech*) and *s* (*shin*). There was in fact no *sh* corresponding with *kh*, *ph* and *th*.



Fragmentary as they are, these curious Græco-cuneiform texts are, nevertheless, of considerable value, partly as showing that down to the beginning of the first century B.C. there were scholars who were equally acquainted with cuneiform and Greek, and that consequently there is no reason to mistrust the accuracy of the translations of cuneiform texts given by Berossos and others, partly because they throw light upon the pronunciation both of Babylonian and also of the Greek that was spoken at the time in Babylonia. They are interesting, moreover, to Greek students from a palæographical point of view. It will be noticed that the writers of them, like Berossos, had no doubt of the existence of a Sumerian language. The characters in the cuneiform column are not treated as ideographs, but are placed on precisely the same footing as the Semitic characters which correspond with them.

NOTE ON THE HEAVENLY BODY $\text{𒌦} \rightarrow \text{𒌦}$ $\text{𒌦} \rightarrow \text{𒌦}$.

BY ROBERT BROWN, JUNR., F.S.A.

Mr. R. Campbell Thompson, in his interesting and important work, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, 1900, unhesitatingly identifies $\text{𒌦} \rightarrow \text{𒌦}$ $\text{𒌦} \rightarrow \text{𒌦}$, which he reads MUL . MUL, with the planet *Mars*. The fatal objection to this reading is that it ignores the determinative prefix ($\text{𒌦} \rightarrow \text{𒌦}$), and it seems fairly obvious that we should read *Kakkab Mul*. But as *mul* is the Sum.-Ak. for "star" or "constellation," such a rendering is literally "the star (or 'constellation') the Star," i.e., some particular star which was regarded as a star of stars. This, however, presents no practical difficulty, and is exactly illustrated by the fact that β *Ursæ Min.* is still called *Kochab*, i.e., "the Star," in allusion to its former supreme importance as the Pole-star. Formerly $\text{𒌦} \rightarrow \text{𒌦}$ $\text{𒌦} \rightarrow \text{𒌦}$ was supposed to represent an instance of the primitive mode of forming the dual or plural by doubling the sign, and was therefore rendered *kakkabâni* ("stars"); but this view is now seen to be untenable. We are thus left with the *Kakkab Mul*. It is mentioned in various texts quoted by Mr. Thompson, but the identification with *Mars* is only based upon *Tab.* 80-7-19, 55, Ob. l. 9. Mr. Thompson has given neither copy nor translation of this Tablet, but supplies a transliteration (p. 77), which reads:—

(9) MUL . MUL . *ilu Muštabarrû-mûtânu (a-nu)*.(10) *Ša ilu NI . BAT-a*

Rev. (1) MUL . MUL

Muštabarrû-mûtânu ("The Reveller-in-death") is admittedly* a name of *Mars*, and Mr. Thompson evidently reads the passage, "*Mulmal* = *Muštabarrû-mûtânu* (= *Mars*), who is the god "Nibata (nu)," or, as I read the name, "Zalbat-a (nu)." Now it is perfectly

* Vide R. B., Jr., *Primitive Constellations*, I, 348.

true that the tablets contain glosses, such as "A = B," and these explanations are very useful. But, again, there are passages which have the appearance of glosses, yet are not. Take, for instance, *W.A.I.* III liii, No. 1, ll. 32-34. L. 32 contains a statement about *Ninsi* = (*Venus*). Then follows:—

33. *Ilu Nin-si, ilu Zal-bat-a-nu.*

34. *Kakkab Man-ma ana ilu Sag-me-gar iṭḥu.*

Here, in the abstract, we might understand l. 33 as a gloss explaining that *Ninsi* = *Zalbatanu*, i.e., that *Venus* = *Mars*, which is absurd. We should read:—

33. *Venus* (and) *Mars*

34. (As) the star *Manma*,* towards *Jupiter* approach.

But *Tab.* 80-7-19, 55, Ob. l. 9, above quoted does not even look like a gloss, for there is apparently a *lacuna* after *Mulmul*; and then, in line 10, the Sem. *Muštabarrû-mîṭānu* is explained as the Sum.-Ak. *Zalbat*. We therefore fail to find here the equation "the star *Mul* = *Mars*."

That this view is correct will be abundantly clear on referring to another passage, not quoted by Mr. Thompson. In *W.A.I.* III, lvii, No. 2 we have a series of omens connected with the approach of the star *Manma* (= *Šanumma*, = *Mars*) to various other stars and constellations. L. 5 reads:—

𐎶	$\Sigma\Sigma\Upsilon\rightarrow\Upsilon$	𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶	𐎶	$\Sigma\Sigma\Upsilon\rightarrow\Upsilon$	$\Sigma\Sigma\Upsilon\rightarrow\Upsilon$	𐎶𐎶
<i>Ana</i>	<i>Kakkab</i>	<i>Man-ma</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>Kakkab</i>	<i>Mul</i>	<i>iṭḥi.</i>

"When the star *Mars* to the constellation *Mul* approaches." *Mul*, therefore, is not *Mars*, but there is little difficulty in finding a suitable identification for it. My late friend, Terrien de Lacouperie, very shortly before his death, sent me a list of the archaic Chinese Lunar Mansions. In this the *Pleiades* appear as *Mol*, later *Mao*, which Lacouperie very justly identified with the Bab. *Mul*.† as "the Star," which the Pleiad was *par excellence* when *Taurus* led the year. So at present an Arab name of the *Pleiades* is *Au-Najm* ("the Constellation.") Mr. Thompson observes,‡ but does not explain the fact, that at times "*Mulmul* is used with a plural verb." This

* Read by Mr. Thompson *Šanumma*, but admitted to be *Mars* vide *Reports*, II, lxxv.

† Vide *Proceedings*, Dec. 1895, p. 298.

‡ *Reports*, II, lxxvi.

is simply because it is both one and many; just as some Greek writers speak of the *Pleiad*, and others of the *Pleiades*.

Again, Tab. Sm. 1907 is a Sum.-Ak. text which treats of the star *Mul* and the "Full-moon" (*Akû-lal*) as determining by their positions the length of the year. This would not apply to a planet. In various tables we meet with a star-god called *Îmina-bi* ("the Sevenfold-one"). Mr. L. W. King, commenting on Tabs. K. 6395, + K. 10, 138, l. 5, where we read, "Powerful, O Sevenfold-one, are ye," remarks:—"There is no doubt that the name was applied to a group of gods who were so closely connected, that, though addressed in the plural, they could in the same sentence be regarded as forming a single personality."* The star combination of Pleiad-Pleiades exactly answers to such a description. In Tab. Sm. 1082, *Îmina-bi* and *Gut-dûa* ("the Bull-in front") i.e., *Taurus*, and particularly the *Aldebaran* star-group, are mentioned side by side. This would exactly agree with "Pleiads and Hyads." Tab. Sm. 1267 is very interesting in this connexion. We read:—

3. "The god the Sevenfold-one as-a-portent-of (*ana*) food is seen. *Mul* and *Mar* ("the *Chariot*") by themselves (or "together." *Ištēniš*) stand.

5. *Jupiter* to *Mul* attained (*ikšud*); the god the Sevenfold-one is in the ascendant: food (is plentiful)."

There is nothing here to show that "the god *Îmina-bi*" is distinct from the "constellation *Mul*." On the contrary, the principle of Semitic parallelism strongly suggests their identity. *Îmina-bi*, like the Pleiad, is connected with harvest and abundance. As *Jupiter* attains to *Mul*, we observe that the latter is an ecliptic constellation. The *Chariot* (Sem. *Narkabtu*) referred to is probably that of *Auriga*, which adjoins the Pleiad.

In K. 761, Ob. l. 2, we read:—

K. *Dilbat ina K. Mul izzaz.* "Venus in *Mul* stands."

Venus could not stand in *Mars*. A similar statement occurs in K. 1343, Ob. l. 4. In Tab. 83-1-18, 172, the K. *Mul* is connected with the beginning of the year. This applies to a star, not to a planet. In Tab. 81-2-4, 84, Ob. l. 3, we read:—"When the star of the god *Marduk* (*Jupiter*) reaches the constellation *Mul*, it will rain." Mr. Thompson renders the passage, "When *Jupiter* reaches *Mars*," which seems quite inappropriate. The reference is to the

* *Bab. Magic and Sorcery*, 186, p. 117.

rainy *Pleiades*, to whose importance in archaic and ancient astronomy, mythology, and religion I need not here refer.

In *K.* 1343, Ob. l. 3, we read :—

Ana K. A-IDIN [or *Pur-êdin*] *K. Mul iksud, I.* [*Rammānu irahis*].

“When the star A-IDIN reaches *Mul*, it will rain.”

As we have seen (*sup.*), this is the prognostication when *Jupiter* reaches *Mul*, a circumstance which suggests that *Aidin* = *Marduk*. So Brünnow *Class. List*, No. 11,483, p. 464, $\Sigma\Sigma\Upsilon\rightarrow\Upsilon$ (=Bab. $\Sigma\Sigma\Upsilon\rightarrow\Upsilon$) = $\Sigma\Upsilon\rightarrow\Upsilon$ *Mar-* (*duk*?). Mr. Thompson, however, regards *Aidin* as *Spica*, though it is exceedingly improbable that anyone would say that “*Spica* reached *Mars*.” He bases his opinion on *K.* 793, Rev. 1, 2, which he renders :—

“Last night a halo surrounded the Moon and Virgo (*Absin*) and *Spica* (*A-idin*) stood within it.” But this interpretation is contradictory on the face of it, inasmuch as *Spica*, as he notes, is a star of *Virgo*. But certain stars of *Virgo*, e.g., β , η , γ , δ *Virg.*, the 13th Lunar Mansion, might stand with *Jupiter* within the halo.

In *K.* 11,099 *Dilgan, Mul, Sibzianna*, and *Kaksisa*, that is to say, *Capella*, the *Pleiad*, *Orion*, and *Procyon* are the subject of observations.

In *K.* 7661 *Mul* is mentioned along with *Kaksisa* and *Girtab* (*Scorpio*).

In Tab. *Rm.* 2174 *Mul* is mentioned in connexion with *Dilgan* (*Capella*), *Ul-anna* (*Taurus*, especially *Aldebaran* and the other *Hyades*), *Sibzianna* (*Orion*), *Mastabba* (*Castor* and *Pollux*), *Kaksisa* (*Procyon*), and *Ban* (*Sirius*), i.e., nearly all the principal stars of that quarter of the heavens. No planets are named.

Thus, upon the whole, it seems clear that the *K. Mul* cannot = *Mars*; and that the view I have suggested in *Primitive Constellations* and elsewhere still holds the field.



THE ANTIQUITY OF THE FOUR-WHEELED CHARIOT.

BY JOSEPH OFFORD, *M.J.S.*

In all studies of the history of wheeled vehicles, it is customary to commence with the two-wheeled chariot or car, and to infer that four-wheeled ones were a much later invention. This may be the correct view to take, but recently a number of archaic representations of four-wheeled cars have been discovered, which will for the present force archæologists to admit that as far as pictorial evidence goes, the four-wheeled type of carriage is carried back into antiquity quite as far as, if not farther than, the two-wheeled chariot. In proof of this assertion I give photographs of five very early drawings of four-wheeled vehicles (see Plates).

The delineation of these, it must be admitted, is somewhat defective in detail, but at the same time amply sufficient to prove the extremely early knowledge of such cars or wagons. Four of them are from extremely archaic Babylonian Cylinders, and one from an Egyptian mummy wrapping. Those which portray a warrior seated in a triumphal car apparently drawn by four horses, or mules (Pl. I, figs. 1, 2), are probably the earliest, because of the flounced skirt he wears, which is only to be found as the costume of figures upon the very earliest known Babylonian Cylinders. These two cylinders are so very similar in style of workmanship, that possibly they are by the same artist. One of the others, which is in a collection at New York, apparently shows a four-wheeled car drawn by a stag (Pl. II); whilst the other depicts a similar vehicle drawn by a mythical quadruped with wings (Pl. I, fig. 3.)

The Egyptian sketch (Pl. I, fig. 4) shows a model of a funeral boat with the effigy of a mummy upon it, and the spirit in bird form above it. The whole of this, and also two figurines of Isis and Nephthys, is carried upon a four-wheeled platform drawn by a priest who is offering incense. The antiquity of this Egyptian vignette in no ways approaches that of the Cylinder pictures, but it is of course many centuries earlier than any Greek or Roman

PLATE I.



I.



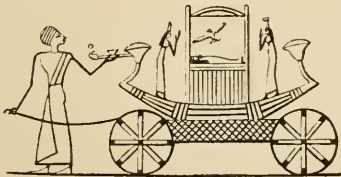
II.

FROM CYLINDERS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



III.

FROM A CYLINDER BELONGING TO MR. HAYES-WARD.



IV.

FROM A DRAWING ON THE BANDAGES OF A MUMMY.

(See Wilkinson, "*Anc. Egypt.*," I, 237.)

PLATE II.



FROM A CYLINDER BELONGING TO MR. HAYES-WARD.

representation of a four-wheeled vehicle, and being upon a sepulchral monument may, like all the texts inscribed upon such objects, be a copy of a much older example. Herodotus, II, 63, especially mentions an Egyptian four-wheeled vehicle used for sacred purposes.

There is no inherent reason why a two-wheeled vehicle should have been the precursor, instead of the follower, of a four-wheeled one; more especially if the idea of wheels at all was evolved from the invention of moving heavy objects by means of rollers, as we find represented on some Assyrian and Egyptian reliefs.

In Homer's *Iliad*, Book 8, lines 369, 384, there is the following passage, pointing to the use of what may be termed a three-wheeled vehicle, a tripod upon wheels: "But the silver-footed Thetis came to the abode of Hephæstos, imperishable starry-roofed; distinguished among the immortals, brazen, which the limping-one himself made, and she found him sweating, busy about his bellows and in a great hurry, for he was fashioning tripods, twenty in all, to stand about the wall of his well built chamber, and he placed golden wheels under each foot in order that they might go automatically into the assembly of the gods, and might return home again: a wonder to behold! Now these surely had so far reached an end, but not yet were well wrought handles fitted to them, but these he contrived, and further wrought chains."

For this rendering of the passage I am indebted to E. Gilbert Highton, Esq., M.A., and it is interesting as indicating that the use of wheels was adapted to other than chariots.

In Perrot and Chipiez' *History of Ancient Art* a small four-wheeled tray for incense, of early Etruscan work, is shown, but this and some others mentioned are quite diminutive objects, though they may be imitations of larger vehicles which their constructors had seen upon roads, drawn by horses.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday, May 14th, 1902, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

F. LEGGE : “The History of the Transliteration of Egyptian.”

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

ALKER, E., Die Chronologie der Bücher der Könige und Paralipomenon im Einklang mit der Chronologie der Aegypter, Assyrer, Babylonier und Meder.

AMÉLINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.

————— Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.

————— La Morale Egyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.

AMIAUD, A., AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babylooniennes et Assyriennes.

————— Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.

BAETHGEN, Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte. Der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden.

BLASS, A. F., Eudoxi ars Astronomica qualis in Charta Aegyptiaca superest.

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BUDGE, E. A. WALLIS, *Litt. D.*, "The Mummy."

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BURCKHARDT, Eastern Travels.

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- HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
- HOMMEL, Dr., Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens. 1892.
- JASTROW, M., A Fragment of the Babylonian "Dibbarra" Epic.
- JENSEN, Die Kosmologie der Babylonier.
- JEREMIAS, Tyrus bis zur Zeit Nubukadnezar's Geschichtliche Skizze mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Keilschriftlichen Quellen.
- JOACHIM, H., Papyros Ebers, das Älteste Buch über Heilkunde.
- KRELS, F., De Chnemothis nomarchi inscriptione Aegyptiaca commentatio.
- LEDERER, Die Biblische Zeitrechnung vom Auszuge aus Aegypten bis zum Beginne der Babylonische Gefangenschaft mit Berücksichtigung der Resultate der Assyriologie und der Aegyptologie.
- LEDRAIN, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
- LEFÈBURE, Le Mythe Osiren. 2^{me} partie. "Osiris."
- LEGRAIN, G., Le Livre des Transformations. Papyrus démotique du Louvre.
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- MARUCHI, Monumenta Papyracea Aegyptia.
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- NOORDTIG, Israël's verblijf in Egypte bezien int licht der Egyptische ontdekkingen.
- POGNON, Les Inscriptions Babyloniennes du Wadi Brissa.
- RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchy.
- ROBIOU, Croyances de l'Égypte à l'époque des Pyramides.
- Recherches sur le Calendrier en Égypte et sur le chronologie des Lagides.
- SAINTE MARIE, Mission à Carthage.
- SARZEC, Découvertes en Chaldée.
- SCHAEFFER, Commentationes de papyro medicinali Lipsiensi.
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- SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
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- Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch., Vol. XX to Vol. XXXII, 1866 to 1878.
- ZIMMERN, H., Die Assyriologie als Hülfswissenschaft für das Studium des Alten Testaments.

NOTICES.

SUBSCRIPTIONS to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount, £1 1s., at once to the Society's Account at Messrs. Lloyds' Bank, Limited, 16, St. James's Street, S.W.

PAPERS proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having NEW MEMBERS to propose, are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council.

A few complete sets of the publications of the Society can be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. HARRY RYLANDS, 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list of Members, in order to secure the regular delivery of the *Proceedings*.

THE LIBRARY.

The very large and rapidly increasing number of unbound books and pamphlets received for our library, either by gift or by way of exchange for our "*Proceedings*," makes the question of how to deal with them very urgent.

In their present condition, being only in paper covers, and not bound up into volumes, they are difficult to arrange and to keep in due order. Moreover, the unavoidable damage to the flimsy binding, due to constant reference and loan, soon causes the pages to become loose, and consequently lost.

Among the many books that need immediate attention may be mentioned the "Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française," the "Musée Guimet," the "Révue de l'histoire des Religions," and the "Révue Archéologique," all of which are valuable works, and are constantly either consulted in the library, or taken out on loan.

To bind these and similar books in plain, strong binding seems to be absolutely necessary in order to preserve them for the use of the Members. The cost of doing *all* that is desirable would be considerable, but a good deal could be done for £100.

The Society cannot afford it out of its narrow income, and the Members are therefore appealed to, to assist in raising the necessary sum.

Subscriptions may be paid to the Secretary, at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, and will be duly acknowledged in the "*Proceedings*."

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-SECOND SESSION, 1902.

VOLUME XXIV.

Fourth Meeting, 14th May, 1902.

APRIL. NO MEETING.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., &c., PRESIDENT,

AND AFTERWARDS

SIR H. H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., &c.,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks
ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From F. Legge, Esq. :—"Encyclopædia Biblica." Vol. III,
L to P. London. 8vo. 1902.

From Rev. P. A. Cesare de Cara, S.J. :—"Di alcuni criterii
incerti nella paletnologia archeologia e storia antica." Rev.

Cesare A. de Cara. *Civiltà Cattolica*. 1 Marzo. 8vo. 1902.

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M

From Philip Virey:—"Quelques observations sur l'Episode d'Aristée à propos d'un Monument Egyptien." Paris. 8vo. 1889.

From Prof. E. Sachau. "Über den zweiten Chalifen Omar. Ein Charakterbild aus der ältesten Geschichte des Islams." *Königl. Pruss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*. Berlin. 8vo. 1902.

From Sir H. H. Howorth:—"The Early History of Babylonia." Parts III and IV. (*English Historical Review*. Oct., 1899, and Jan., 1901.)

———"The Later Rulers of Shirpula or Lagash." Parts I and II. (*English Historical Review*. Jan. and April, 1902.)

From Rev. P. Cesare A. de Cara, S.J.:—"Gli Hethei-Pelasgi Ricerche di storia e di archeologia orientale, Greca ed Italica." Vol. II. Rome. 8vo. 1902.

The following Candidate was elected, having been nominated in March:—

James Buyers, Brisbane, Queensland.

The following Candidate was nominated for election at the next Meeting on June 11th:—

C. P. Keith, B.Sc. Univ., Pennsylvania, 210, South 4th Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

The following Paper was read:—

F. Legge, The History of the Transliteration of Egyptian.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Newberry, Mr. Read, Mr. Nash, Mr. Ward, and the Chairman took part.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE, *D.C.L.*, &c., &c.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

During the last days of his life, the lamented Sir Peter Le Page Renouf, foreseeing that he would not be able to reach the goal he had been striving to attain, the completion of his translation of the Book of the Dead, expressed the wish that the writer of these lines should continue and complete his work. I did not feel at liberty to go against the desire of the eminent master, who had done me the honour to choose me as his successor, and to leave unfinished a work which he had kept in view all his life long, and which he considered to be the choicest fruit of his Egyptological researches.

But I had hardly set myself to the task, when I realised the difficulties which were in my way. It is never easy, even for a translator, to put himself into the place of another, to enter fully into his views, to reconstitute the conception he had formed of the book he had to interpret. To these difficulties must be added, that I had hardly any help with regard to that part of the book which Renouf has not published himself. Renouf, like many eminent scholars, had his learning chiefly in his head; his notes are very scanty, mere scraps without any methodical order. There is not a line of written translation left, beyond what he printed himself. Thus, for the translation of the following chapters, I was entirely dependent on the part already published, and I had constantly to refer to those chapters, in order to know the sense which Renouf would have given to words and sentences I came across in the course of my work.

I endeavoured as much as I could, to translate as Renouf would have done. Whenever it was possible, I used his words or his readings, though I did not always agree with them. I followed his choice of texts. He generally took the oldest one he had

which he frequently found in my edition. On the whole I tried to continue the work on the lines which Renouf himself adopted. Thus it cannot be said absolutely that this translation is my work; Egyptological scholars will soon recognize what is mine, and the interpretations for which I am not responsible. I beg the reader to look at my work in this light, and to remember that at present any translation of the Book of the Dead is tentative and provisional, and liable, with the progress in our knowledge of Egyptian, to undergo considerable changes. Nevertheless, I hope that this joint work will not compare too unfavourably with the part done by my illustrious predecessor.

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

CHAPTER CXL.

The book read on the last day of Mechir, when the Eye is full on the last day of Mechir.

There rises a form which shines on the horizon. Atmu rises pouring out his dew, and the bright one who shines in the sky. The abode of the obelisk is in joy because of them, because they are complete. There are shouts of joy in the sanctuary and loud cheering fills the Tuat. They fall down before Atmu Harmachis. For His Majesty gave orders to the cycle of his followers. His Majesty ordered to give praise to the Eye, and behold, my flesh he gave it strength, and all my limbs are renewed, as soon as the order came out of the mouth of Rā.

His glorious Eye rests on its place on His Majesty in this hour of the night. When the fourth hour is accomplished, the world is joyous in the last day of Mechir, for the Majesty of the Eye is in the presence of the cycle of the gods, and His Majesty rises as from the beginning, with the Eye on his head as Rā Atmu.

The (1) eyes of Shu, Seb, Osiris, Suti, Horus, Menthu, Ptah, Raneheh, Thoth, Chat, Nai, Eternity, Necht, Mert, the land, he who is born by himself. After the computation of the eye has been made in the presence of this god, and when it is full and completed, all these gods are joyous on that day, they who were silent; (2) and

behold there is a festival made to every god ; and they say : hail to thee, praise from Rā, the boatmen tow his boat, Apepi is struck down. Hail to thee, praise from Rā who causes the form of Chepera to exist ; hail to thee, praise from Rā, there is joy in him, his enemies are conquered ; hail to thee, praise from Rā, who has repelled the chiefs of the sons of the rebellion. Acclamation to thee and praise to Osiris *N*.

Said on an eye of pure lapis-lazuli or *mak* stone, ornamented with gold ; an offering is made before it of all things good and holy, when Rā puts it on (on his head) on the last day of Mechir ; another one is made of jasper, which a man will put on any of his limbs he likes. When this chapter is read by one who is in the boat of Rā, he is towed like the gods, he is like one of them, and he prescribes what is done to him in the Netherworld.

When this chapter has been read to its end, this is the copy of the order of offerings made when the Eye is full : four burning altars for Rā, four for the Eye, and four for these gods ; what there is on each of them is : five good pointed white loaves ; five pointed fruit cakes, five baskets of pastry, one measure of incense, one of fruit and one of roast meat.

NOTES.

The ancient papyri do not contain this chapter. The translation is made from the Turin *Todtenbuch*, supplemented and corrected from hieratic papyri in Paris. Its real meaning is difficult to understand. It seems that under symbolical expressions it refers to an astronomical phenomenon, the renewal of the sun after the winter solstice. According to the principle which I have adopted, to maintain my predecessor's interpretations. I translated  "the Eye is full" (*cf.* Notes on ch. 125, p. 214). But as it seems evident that here the two eyes of the sun are the two periods of his apparent course, the decrease and the growth, I should translate "the period is accomplished," this period being that of the decrease after which the sun enters its ascending course, or according to Egyptian ideas begins again to grow. It is natural that the completing of the period should be hailed with joy by Rā, since it is the final victory over his enemies, which sets him free and allows him to rise again as at the beginning. The sign of his triumph is that he puts the  on his head, as we see in the vignette.

1. Why this list of gods comes here, it is difficult to understand. It seems quite out of place. Their number varies according to the papyri. In some of them, they are put after the text in vertical columns. I presume they are the divinities often alluded to as *these gods*. They are the witnesses of the scene of Rā rising with the Eye on his head.

2. I have adopted the reading of the Paris papyrus, III, 58,



The vignettes consist, in the Turin papyrus, of the deceased worshipping a black Anubis lying down on a naos, and having on his back the sign . This god is the  first mentioned.

Behind him are the    , a human form with the Eye on its head, and Harmachis. Several papyri have only the Eye and Harmachis.

CHAPTERS CXLI TO CXLIII.

The book(1) *said by a man or his father or his son in the festival of the Amenta, and wherewith he acquires might*(2) *with Rā, and with the gods when he is with them. Said on the day of the new moon, when offerings are made of bread, beer, oxen, geese, and burnt incense to*

Osiris Chentamenta,

Nu,

Māāt,

The boat of Rā,

Tmu,

The Cycle of the great gods,

The Cycle of the small gods,

Horus the lord of the double diadem,

Shu,

Tefnut,

Seh,

Nut,

Isis,

Nephthys,

The house of the *ka* of the inviolate god, (3)

The storm of the sky which raises the god,
 The hidden one in her dwelling,
 Chebt the mummified form of the god,
 The greatly beloved, with red hair,
 The abundant in life, the veiled one,
 Her whose name is powerful in her works,
 The bull of the cows,
 The divine force, the good one, the good rudder of the Northern
 sky,
 Him who goes round and piloteth the double earth, the good
 rudder of the Western sky,
 The shining one, who dwelleth in the house of the devouring
 monster, the good rudder of the Eastern sky,
 The inner one in the house of the red ones, the good rudder of
 the Southern sky,
 Emsta,
 Hapi,
 Tuamaufef,
 Kebehsenuf,
 The Southern part of heaven,
 The Northern part of heaven,
 The Sektit boat,
 The Atit boat,
 Thoth,
 The gods of the South,
 The gods of the North,
 The gods of the West,
 The gods of the East, .
 The sejant gods, (4) .
 The resting gods, ..
 The great house,
 The house of flame,
 The gods of the abodes,
 The gods of the horizon,
 The gods of the field,
 The gods of the houses, (5)
 The gods of the thrones,
 The ways of the South,
 The ways of the North,
 The ways of the West,

The ways of the East,
The halls of the Tuat,
The holds of the Tuat,
The mysterious doors,
The doorkeepers of the halls of the Tuat,
Those with hidden faces, the guards of the roads,
The guardians of those who are lamenting,
The guardians of those whose faces are joyous, (6)
The burning ones who put the flame on the altar,
The door openers who extinguish the flames in the Amenta,
Osiris Unneferu, (7)
Osiris the living,
Osiris the lord of life,
Osiris the inviolate god,
Osiris in Kau,
Osiris Orion,
Osiris Sep,
Osiris in Tanenit,
Osiris in the South,
Osiris in the North,
Osiris creator of millions of men,
Osiris the spirit in the crouching figure (?),
Osiris Ptah lord of life,
Osiris in Restau,
Osiris inside the mountain,
Osiris in the water of Heliopolis,
Osiris in Hesert,
Osiris in Siut,
Osiris in Net'eft,
Osiris in the South,
Osiris in Pu,
Osiris in Neteru,
Osiris in Lower Saïs,
Osiris in Bak,
Osiris in Sun (Syene),
Osiris in Rohenen,
Osiris in Aper,
Osiris in Keftennu,
Osiris Sokaris in Petshe,
Osiris in his city,

PLATE XLI.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.



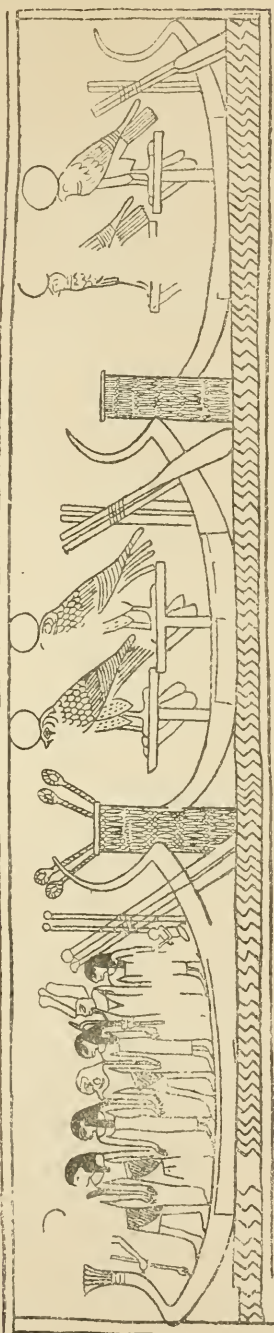
CHAPTER CXXXVIIIb.
Papyrus, Brit. Mus., No. 9900.



CHAPTER CXXXIIIax.
Papyrus, Brocklehurst II.



CHAPTER CXXXVIIb.
Papyrus, Brit. Mus., No. 9900.



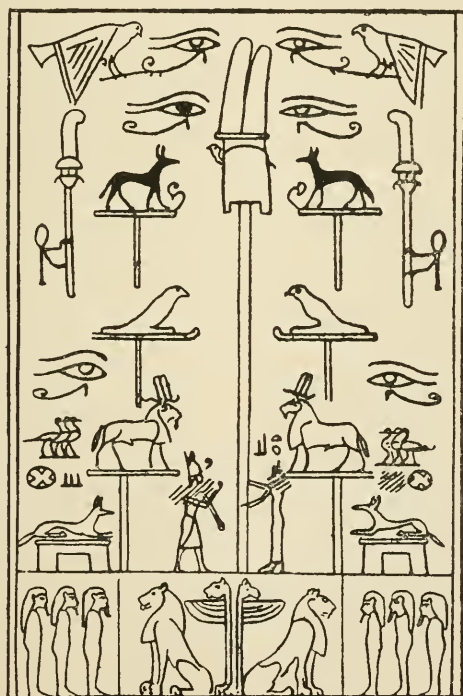
CHAPTER CXXXVIA. Papyrus, Leyden II.

PLATE XLII.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER CXL. Mus. du Louvre. No. III, 52.



CHAPTER CXXXVIII. Papyrus, Busca.

PLATE XI.III.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

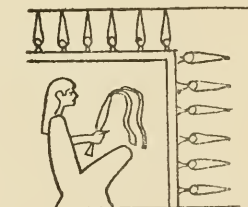


CHAPTERS CXLI AND CXLII. Berlin Mus., 2.



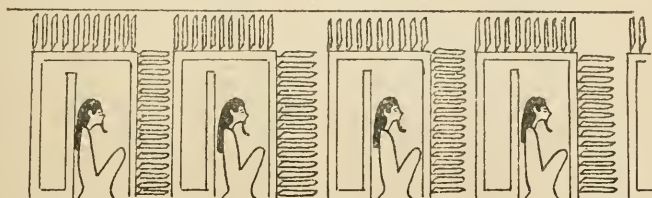
CHAPTER CXLVI.
Leyden, No. II.

CHAPTER CXL. LEPSIUS, Todtenbuch.



CHAPTER CXLVI.
Berlin Mus., No 2.

CHAPTER CXLVI.
Louvre, III, 1.



CHAPTER CXLVI. Leyden No. VI.

PLATE XLIV.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.



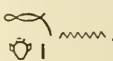
Osiris in Pesekro,
 Osiris in his abodes in the land of the North,
 Osiris in heaven,
 Osiris in his abodes in Restau,
 Osiris in Nest,
 Osiris in Atefur,
 Osiris Sokaris,
 Osiris the lord of eternity,
 Osiris the begetter,
 Osiris the lord of Heliopolis,
 Osiris in the monstrance,
 Osiris the lord of eternity,
 Osiris the prince,
 Osiris of the gate of judgment,
 Osiris in Restau,
 Osiris on his sand,
 Osiris in the hall of the cows,
 Osiris in Tanenit,
 Osiris in Netit,
 Osiris in Sati,
 Osiris in Beteshu,
 Osiris in Upper Saïs,
 Osiris in Tepu,
 Osiris in Shennu,
 Osiris in Henket,
 Osiris in the land of Sokaris,
 Osiris in Shau,
 Osiris in Faur,
 Osiris in Maāti,
 Osiris in Hena,
 Osiris the great god the everlasting.

NOTES.

The old texts which we follow here, join in one chapter, 141, what in the Turin *Todtenbuch* is divided into two, 141, 142 ; 143 being merely the vignettes which accompany them. This chapter is the first of a series in which the deceased has to show his knowledge. His being well-informed as to the names of the gods and of their sanctuaries, and also of the doors through which he passes, the halls

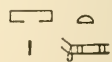
which he enters, confers upon him certain privileges. Here the deceased has to recite the names of the gods while offerings are made to them; the second part of the chapter refers only to Osiris in all his forms, and in his numerous sanctuaries, which have not all been identified. The old versions differ only slightly in length, from one or two of the gods being omitted. The translation follows mainly the Cairo papyrus, *Cc*, with a few variants taken from other papyri, one of the best of which is the papyrus is *Nu* of the British Museum (ed. Budge).

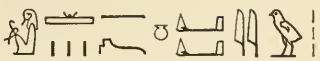
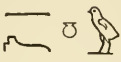
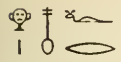
1. The title of the later texts is much longer: *the book where-with the Chuu acquire might, knowing the names of the gods of the Southern sky, and of the Northern sky, of the gods of the Bounds, of the gods who are the guides in the Tuat. If it is said by a man, to his father or to his mother, in the festival of the Amenta, he acquires might with Rā, and with the gods when he is with them. Spoken on the day of the new moon by Osiris N when offerings are made to him of . . . etc., and offerings are made to Osiris under all his names by Osiris N.*

2. See note 1 to ch. 133. I cannot quite agree with Renouf as to the meaning of the word . It seems to me that its sense is not so much that of "making someone mighty," as of "distinguishing him, making him eminent" in the opinion of his god or his master, so that he may become his lord's favourite. I consider the meaning of  as similar to that of .

3. The following names are those of the seven celestial cows which are represented with the bull in chapter 148, together with the rudders of the four cardinal points.

4. See ch. 130, note 5.

5.  *pertiu*, the adjective form of the noun , "a house," the gods of the houses, contrasted with those of the fields. This word shows that in the complete spelling of the word  the  has not fallen off, as it probably was the case in the pronunciation, and in composite names such as: , פתם, , פִּי־בֶקֶת.

6. I read here according to *Ld.* . Instead of  *Lc.* writes , and *Nu* , which does not give any sense.  might here be translated *companions*.

7. In the Turin *Todtenbuch*, ch. 142 begins here with this title: *Chapter whereby the deceased acquireth might, wherby is given him to go and to widen his steps, coming forth by day in all the forms he likes, knowing the names of Osiris in all the places he likes to be.*

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON

"GREEK TRANSCRIPTIONS OF BABYLONIAN TABLETS."

BY F. C. BURKITT.

All students of Semitic languages, as well as professed Assyriologists, will have greeted with interest the papers by Dr. Pinches and Dr. Sayce in the March number of these *Proceedings* (pp. 108-125). In the fragments there published we have for the first time a transcript into a European alphabet of the then still living language of Babylonia. The sentences transcribed by Dr. Pinches on p. 112 are few in number and as meagre as those of Ollendorf, but they are sentences. The Babylonian words stand in a syntactical relation to each other in at least two instances, instead of being mere detached entries in a vocabulary. I am sure we ought all to be most grateful to Dr. Pinches for his discovery, and if what I have to say consists of criticisms of the details of his work, it is on account of the importance of minute accuracy in so remarkable a text, and not out of any want of appreciation for the value of the work that has made such criticism possible.

First, then, as to the text itself. One or two indications in the published *facsimiles* led me to go and inspect the tablets in the British Museum. With regard to Sp. III. 245 + 81-7-6, 141 (35726), the only addition I have to make is that the last word is not **BWP** but **BWPA**. The final letter is broken away, and all but the top point is lost in the published plate owing to the deep shadow. But it is fairly clear in the tablet itself. In the other tablet, Sp. II. 290 + Sp. III. 247 (34797), there was more to be done. Taking Dr. Pinches's transcript on p. 112, the changes to be made are as follows:—

ll. 2 and 11, *instead of* **ḪEI** *read* **ḪEP**.

l. 7 (end), *instead of* **ΔΘΔΦ** *read* **ΔΘΔΦΔ** (*apparently*).

On the left-hand edge of the tablet are some scratches, but they seem to have been quite accidental. The space after **EIX** in line 4 is quite blank; after **ΔΘΔΦ** in line 6 the surface is rubbed, but I do not think there was ever anything written there. A short horizontal line is placed a little above and to the right of the second **X** in the last line, but it may be accidental. It does not look like a cancelling stroke.

There cannot be a question that the signs in ll. 2, 11, read **EI** by Dr. Pinches and Dr. Sayce, are really **EP**. The lines are like the undoubted **EP** in line 9 (*μτεροθ*), and different from the undoubted **EI** in ll. 4, 9, 12. Thus the verb *ih-ri* is transcribed **ḪḪEP**, the final vowel being lost and a helping vowel inserted, exactly as in the noun *pal-gu* (l. 5), which is transliterated **ΦΔΛΔΓ**. The sign **Ḫ** stands for the strong guttural (*h*) only, not for the conjectural combination (*hr*). The Greek transcriptions, therefore, instead of shewing that the final vowel of such words as *ih-ri*, "he dug," was long, tend on the contrary to shew that the vowel was not pronounced at all, a statement which finds some confirmation from the circumstance that the 1st pers. sing. is written *ah-ru-ú* and *ah-ri-i* in the same inscription of Sennacherib (III R 14, 34 and 52).

The general disappearance of these final vowels is a most interesting and remarkable circumstance. But it may be worth while to point out one deduction which may be drawn from it, *viz.*, that these Græco-Babylonian tablets are not mere transliterations of Babylonian script but the writing down of Babylonian speech. Dr. Pinches points out that the writer must have been a Greek learning Babylonian. But what he has written down is not the sound of the

several cuneiform signs but the sound of the words. For practical purposes we may say that to him every word was an ideogram, and he has given us the traditional pronunciation of the words, not the sounds indicated by the cumbrous and inaccurate Babylonian system of writing. The difference between the initial vowels of *εῖς* and *ἴφ* seems to be due to the influence of the guttural *h*. Similarly the syllable *ḫir* is transcribed *τερ*, which suggests that *r* counts as a guttural, as in Hebrew.

But it would be a mistake to argue in certain directions from these Greek transcripts. The Greek alphabet is in some respects like the tongue of the Ephraimites, it cannot "frame to pronounce it right." This is especially the case with regard to the assumed aspiration of the *ב ג ד כ פ ת* letters, upon which Dr. Pinches makes some remarks on pp. 113, 115 f. The date assigned to these tablets is B.C. 140-80, in other words a date comparable with the various strata of the Septuagint. As a matter of fact the system of transliteration is almost exactly that of the Septuagint, and it tells us about as much, and as little, of the pronunciation of Babylonian as the Septuagint tells us about the pronunciation of Hebrew. This in the case of the aspiration of the letters *ב ג ד כ פ ת* is simply—nothing. In the LXX, as in these fragments, *Θ* stands for *ת* and *Τ* for *ב*, but no difference is made between *ת* and *ת*. What Dr. Pinches says on p. 115 about "Tiglathpileser" is true of the English Bible, but not of the Septuagint, which has *Θαλαθαλασσαρ*, *Θαλαθαλασσαρ*, *Θεγαθαλασσαρ* (Lucian), and several other spellings, but never one beginning with *τ*. Similarly Semitic *פ* is always rendered by *φ*, never by *π*. Familiar examples are *Φαραὼ* for the Hebrew *פֶּרַעַה*, and *Φαράν* (Gen. xiv 6) for *פֶּאֶרֶן*. It is the same with the *כ*, which is represented uniformly by *χ*. On the other hand *ק* is represented by *κ*. The word *Μελχισέδεκ* (*מֶלְכִּי צֶדֶק*) actually contains both varieties of *k*, and in it the *כ* is represented by *χ*, although it is not aspirated. It is, I suppose, not improbable that the letters *b g d k p t* were aspirated in Babylonian much as in Hebrew, but the Greek transliterations do not throw any light on the matter.

It is a fairly obvious conjecture that the sign *ξ*, used in one of these bilingual tablets to represent the guttural *h*, is only a modification of *ξ*. If this be so, some light is thrown on the name *Xisuthros* (*Ξίσουθρος*), familiar to us from Berossus.

DWELLING-HOUSES IN EGYPT.

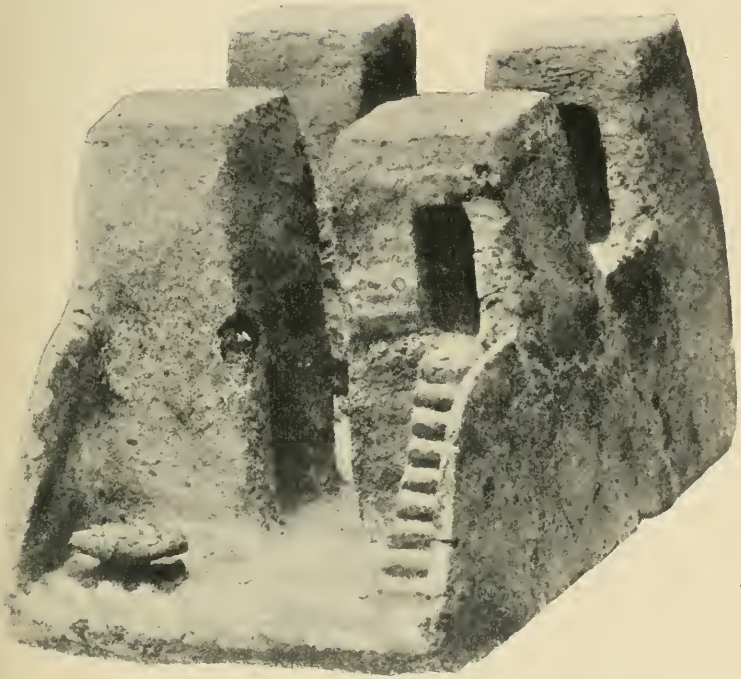
BY DR. W. PLEYTE.

In my last annual report of the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden, I noticed the objects which had been bought or presented during the year. Among them is an Egyptian model of a dwelling-house consisting of four rooms on the ground floor, with four rooms above them (*see Plate*). The upper story is reached by an external staircase. In each of the rooms a person is seated. On the ground in front of the house is a table bearing different meats, bread, and drink. I believe it to be the model of a well-provisioned house which the deceased had placed in his grave for his life in the other world.

Dr. A. Erman describes such objects as Tables of Offerings in the form of dwelling-houses.* Also in the publication of Steindorff: "Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin," Heft IX, p. 24, there is figured a store-house with a granary. Among several persons occupied with various matters, we see three men carrying corn upstairs.

The Leiden Museum also possesses another model dwelling-house, consisting of a vestibule behind two pillars which support a platform above. This platform is reached by a staircase, and on it is inscribed a rectangular figure divided into squares, clearly representing a mat on which the inhabitants were accustomed to enjoy their evening rest. In the edges of the platform, and of the skirting-wall of the entire building, are holes for the insertion of sticks to carry an awning. On the ground below are spread out animals and birds prepared for food, while in the vestibule, behind the pillars, stands a table with vessels of drink, and close to it is an empty seat. The Museum also possesses a model of the entrance to a double house, which also has in front of it a mass of objects prepared for food. Dr. Leemans described it as the entrance of a tomb, and several writers have tried to give a similar explanation of the objects that are spread out on the ground before the doors. I doubt if this is the true interpretation. All the objects must be meat and drink for the living, and I believe that their being funeral offerings is out of the question. Another such model dwelling-house was in the possession of General Grenfell, when I visited London. It is a very beautiful specimen. I do not know whether it is now in any public collection.

* "Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse." Berlin, 1899, p. 97.



MODEL OF AN EGYPTIAN HOUSE IN THE LEYDEN MUSEUM.

SOME UNCONVENTIONAL VIEWS ON THE TEXT OF
THE BIBLE.

III.

The Hexapla and Tetrapla of Origen, and the light they throw on the books of Esdras A and B.

BY SIR H. H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E., F.R.S., etc.*

In a previous Paper I argued that the text of the canonical Ezra, which occurs in the great uncial MSS. of the Greek Bible, is in no sense a Septuagint text, but is one of the Greek versions of the Masoretic text, and in all probability the translation of that text by Theodotion.

I argued, on the other hand, and I think I succeeded in proving, that the Septuagint text of the same narrative has been preserved to us in the Apocrypha, where it is now labelled Esdras III, but was originally styled Esdras A. In both of these views Dr. Nestle and other authorities write to tell me they concur.

In a second Paper I suggested *inter alia* that the text of Esdras A has not been preserved to us quite in its original form, but that it has been edited to a small extent. It is important to analyze and try and discover a little more closely the origin and the history of this sophistication, which apparently only affects a few verses. In making this analysis, I shall have to traverse some elementary ground, because I do not quite agree with all the current views on the subject.

The account Eusebius gives us of Origen's work on the Bible in his *Church History* is confused and fragmentary. It is probably a mere epitome of the great work in six books which he and his friend Pamphilus wrote in defence of Origen, the loss of which is deplor-

able. It was apparently from this "Defence" that Epiphanius derived the statements he gives us on the subject, which are more detailed and more precise than those in the *History* of Eusebius. The same work was probably also the source of the statements in the *Synopsis script. sacr.*, ch. 77, of the pseudo-Athanasius, and of that in the dialogue between Timothy and Aquila contained in the *Anecdota Oxon. class. sacr.*, Pt. VIII, which largely correspond with those of Epiphanius. In regard to the latter narrative, my friend Mr. Conybeare writes: "The language is largely the same, and nearly all the peculiar features of Epiphanius' narrative occur in the dialogue. Yet on comparison the latter is seen to be drawn not directly from Epiphanius, but from some source which he and the dialogue had together," *op. cit.*, XXVI. I think it very probable that this common source was the "Defence." With one exception, to be mentioned presently, Jerome, in his *Epist. ad Tit.*, describes the work of Origen on the Bible text in the same way as Epiphanius.

The work of Origen consisted of two entirely different things. One, the collection of the various then extant editions of the Bible text, and the writing of them out side by side in a series of columns; and secondly, the preparation of an eclectic text from a comparison of these materials. The former part of the work was contained in two great works generally quoted as the Hexapla and the Tetrapla, probably from the number of Greek versions they contained. The former was sometimes also referred to as the Heptapla or the Octapla. This was apparently when one or both the Hebrew texts were counted as well as the Greek ones. In regard to the Hexapla, Epiphanius tells us that Origen brought together six versions, those of Aquila, of Symmachus, of the Seventy-two (*i.e.*, the Septuagint), of Theodotion, together with the versions known as the Fifth and Sixth, to which he added two Hebrew versions, one in Hebrew characters and the other in Greek letters.

This statement of Epiphanius is clear, and is confirmed by the specimens of the Hexapla as originally written which are extant, and by the statements in the pseudo-Athanasian work above mentioned. Eusebius in his *History* and Jerome both mention a seventh version, also in Greek. Eusebius says, "In the Hexapla of the Psalms, after the four prominent translations, he (*i.e.*, Origen) adds not only a fifth but also a sixth and a seventh" (*Hist.*, VI, 3).

Jerome, who professes to have seen and used the Hexapla, mentions the Septima in two passages. Thus, in his commentary

on Titus iii, 9, he says of Origen: "Quintam et sextam et septimam editionam, quas etiam nos de ejus bibliotheca habemus, miro labore repperit, et cum ceteris editionibus comparavit." While in his commentary on Habakkuk ii, 2 and iii, 12, we read: "Nonnulli vero libri, et maxime hi qui apud Hebraeos versu compositi sunt, tres alias editiones additas habent quam 'quintam' et 'sextam' et 'septimam' translationem vocant, auctoritatem sine nominibus interpretum consecutas."

In both cases Jerome clearly mentions the Septima, but I fancy that, as, on at least one other occasion, he was here depending not on his own memory or collation, but on the above statement of Eusebius in his *History*. It is further to be remarked that if there were seven instead of six Greek versions in the great corpus collected by Origen, the term Hexapla would be a misnomer.

Only six versions are mentioned and described in the letter appended to the Arabic translation of the Syrian Hexaplar. See letter of the Rev. J. White to the Bishop of Oxford, 12 and 13.

In addition to this, I ought to mention that the author of the pseudo-Athanasian tract already quoted, who was a person of great accuracy and knowledge, and apparently a contemporary of Athanasius, speaks of a seventh version, but identifies it with that of the Martyr Lucian. This would not therefore be any text used by Origen. It further seems clear that no definite quotation from the Septima is known. The only one which has been mentioned is a very doubtful one, namely, a note to Psalm 1, 3. We may therefore reasonably conclude, with a first rate authority, namely, Field, that the existence of the *septima* is most doubtful. Field's words, are *non absurda conclusio est Septimam quæ celebratur versionem aut nunquam exstitisse, aut penitus intercedisse* (Field's *Hexapla I*, xlvi).

If we put aside the "Septima" of Eusebius and Jerome as a very shadowy existence, we shall have a complete concurrence among the authorities as to the contents of the Hexapla, and their statement can be largely checked by specimens of it in its original form which are extant. The successive columns of the work contained, according to all the authorities, (1):—The Hebrew text in Hebrew characters. (2) The Hebrew text written phonetically in Greek characters. (3) The translation of Aquila. (4) That of Symmachus. (5) The Septuagint. (6) The translation of Theodotion. Lastly, in some of the books only, 7, the so-called Quinta, and 8, the Sexta.

The Hebrew text in the first column was the *textus receptus*, substantially that afterwards preserved with so much care by the Masorets. According to the view of Origen, of Jerome, and of the Reformers and their Jewish advisers and counsellors, the Buxtorfs, etc., etc., this was the primitive and original text of the Scriptures. This explains their adoption of it as their standard. The same standard was still adhered to by the editors of the Revised Translation of the English Bible, in the teeth of a great deal of what seems conclusive evidence, that it is anything but the primitive unsophisticated text of the Bible. Hence the waste of time and skill and energy in the production of an English Old Testament which is so largely worthless for critical and other purposes, and quite unworthy of our age. Nothing seems more plain than that this *textus receptus* of the Hebrew Bible, otherwise called the Masoretic text, instead of being primitive and original is an elaborately edited text dating from the second century A.D., and of secondary importance to the Septuagint. For this position I have fought at great length, and perhaps too fiercely, in former years. I am very pleased to find my views now largely confirmed by a much greater authority than myself. Dr. Swete, in his introduction to the Greek Old Testament published in 1900 says: "The Hebrew text of the Hexapla was, of course, that which was current among Origen's Jewish teachers in the third century, and which he took to be truly representative of the original" (*op. cit.*, 67). Of this Hebrew text he adds: "*An official text differing considerably from the text accepted in earlier times had received the approval of the Rabbis, and the Alexandrian version which represented the older text began to be suspected and to pass into disuse*" (*id.*, 30). It would have been well if this fact had been graven on the walls of the Jerusalem Chamber when the Revised Version of the Old Testament was being prepared. Let us proceed, however.

The first and second columns of the Hexapla consisted, as we have seen, of the Hebrew words of the Masoretic text in Hebrew and Greek letters respectively. The former, as we know from other evidence, contained neither vowel points nor accents. The latter would therefore be very useful to us if we had it, as an index of the pronunciation of Hebrew by the Hellenistic Jews at the time. It would be most useful also in another way inasmuch as it would afford a check to the vowel pointing and accentuation adopted by the Masorets at a later time when so many variations of actual sense

crept into the Hebrew text consequent on a variation in the vocalization of the original unvocalized consonantal text.

Let us now turn to the Greek versions, and first to the imperfect ones—the *Quinta* and *Sexta*—which are both anonymous. There is a slight confusion about them in the authorities.

Epiphanius in his work on Hebrew Weights and Measures, ch. XVIII, says the *Quinta* was found with other Hebrew and Greek books in a jar at Jericho (Hierichunte), in the seventh year of Antoninus, nicknamed Caracalla, in 217. This statement is confirmed by the pseudo-Athanasian tract in regard to the place of finding, but it does not mention the date, and also by Eusebius, and it is confirmed also by the fact that Origen was in Palestine in 217.

The *Sexta*, according to Epiphanius, was found (also in a jar) at Nicopolis near Actium, in the 13th year of Alexander Severus. This is also confirmed by the pseudo-Athanasius in regard to the former statement, and agrees with the fact that Origen was in Greece in 231.

The dialogue between Timothy and Aquila puts both finds in the reign of Vespasian, which seems quite impossible, while Jerome makes the *Quinta* be found at Nicopolis. The statements of Epiphanius and the pseudo-Athanasian work on this matter seem to carry much the most weight.

Neither the *Quinta* nor *Sexta* would seem to have been complete translations of the Bible. Thus Jerome says, *Nonnulli vero libri et maxime hi qui apud Hebræos versu compositi sunt, tres alias editiones additas habent*," etc. ("*Hieron, Epis. ad. Tit.*") That these versions were in fact only of parts of the Bible seems certain: "*certo certius est*," says Field. He tells us, however, that he had found the *Quinta* quoted for readings in the Pentateuch in the 4th book of Kings, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles and the Lesser Prophets. The *Sexta* is quoted for Exodus, I Kings, Job, Amos, and Habakkuk, the Psalms and Canticles. Jerome says the authors of both versions were Jews: "*Judaicos translatore*s" he calls them, but the author of the *Sexta* has been generally deemed a Christian, from the very Christian gloss he gives to Habakkuk iii. 13. These two versions are interesting for the criticism of other parts of the Bible, but not for that we are at present engaged upon, namely, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, since there is not a tittle of evidence that they were contained in them. In regard to the other three Greek versions, those of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, the case is different.

The object and purpose of two of these versions does not seem to me to have been quite understood. That purpose was not merely to provide a Bible for the Greek-speaking Jews more closely following the primitive Hebrew text, but to make more accessible and popular among the same people that particular edition of the Bible which had been prepared and edited and sophisticated by the doctors at Jamnia, who were presided over by Rabbi Akiba, the same Bible which was the mother text of the Masoretic Bible or *textus receptus* of the later Jews. When that edition or rescension was completed, the task of translating it was at once taken in hand by Aquila, who, as Epiphanius tells us, was a native of Sinope in Pontus, who had relapsed to Judaism, after having been for a while a Christian, and who flourished during the reign of Hadrian, 117-138. The date is further confirmed by the Jewish traditions about him preserved in the Talmud, which also make him a proselyte to Judaism. Eusebius, *Hist.* V, 8, gives a shorter account agreeing with that of Epiphanius. Aquila is first mentioned by Irenæus, who died A.D. 202 or 203. The Greek version made by Aquila was a most strictly literal rendering of the Masoretic text at its very inception, and was doubtless made under the very eye of the Rabbi Akiba, whose scholar he was (*cf.* Lidd., I, 1; König, *Einleitung*, p. 108), and whose name is so closely associated with the preparation of the Hebrew *textus receptus* just mentioned. Akiba flourished from 95-135 A.D. He was in many ways the founder of modern Judaism. Jerome expressly says of him: "*Scribæ et Pharisei quorum suscepit scholam Akybas, quem magistrum Aquilæ proselyti autumant.*" (See Hier, in Is. viii, 14.)

It is not only the purpose and aim of Aquila's translation which seems to me to have been misunderstood; we are continually told that Aquila's version was taken directly from the Hebrew, and is entirely independent of the Septuagint. This it certainly is not. If the two are compared, it will be seen that a considerable proportion of the words used are precisely the same as those in the Septuagint, and that Aquila must have had the Septuagint before him when he was at work. What he did was to leave the Septuagint as it was in cases where it represented his revised Hebrew text literally, and when it did not, to insert his own translation. To say that Aquila's version is entirely independent of the language of the Septuagint, therefore, is to mislead. It is no doubt an exceedingly literal *replica* of the Hebrew *textus*

receptus, but its phraseology is largely that of the Septuagint where the two texts did not vary.

The rugged literalness of Aquila no doubt made it distasteful, and probably also obscure to the Greek readers of the Old Testament who were not orthodox Jews. These faults were cured by a more idiomatic version of the same Hebrew text by Symmachus. Epiphanius tells us he was a Jewish proselyte from Samaritanism. By Samaritanism he probably meant Ebionism. Dr. Swete says he seems to show a knowledge of current Jewish exegesis, which agrees with the story of his Jewish origin or training. Eusebius is the first writer who refers to him and his version. Epiphanius and the Paschal Chronicle say he lived in the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211). But Dr. Gwynn, in the D.C.B., IV, p. 749, has shown this to be incorrect. The Syriac version of Epiphanius says Verus, and not Severus, and the Emperor meant was probably Marcus Aurelius (161-180), whose paternal name was Aurelius Verus. Eusebius, in his *History*, and Jerome (who probably copies him) say he was an Ebionite. This seems confirmed by the fact that his version is not named in the Talmud, nor is his translation mentioned in Justinian's regulations about the texts to be used in the Synagogue, and which especially authorize that of Aquila. Symmachus' use of the word *Χριστος* in Daniel ix, 26, points the same moral. This is further confirmed by the fact that the name Symmachians, as Ambrosiaster (*Prolegg. Epist ad Gal.*), and Augustine (*Contr. Cresc.*, I, 31; *Contr. Faust.*, XIX, 4) say, was in the 4th century applied to the Pharisaic or Nazarene Ebionites. (D.C.B. IV, p. 748.) Eusebius adds that commentaries by Symmachus were still extant in his day, in which he appeared to support the Ebionite heresy by attacking the Gospel of Matthew. Origen, he further tells us, states that he obtained these and other commentaries of Symmachus on the Scriptures from a certain Juliana, who he says received the books by inheritance from Symmachus himself (Eusebius, *Hist.*, VI, 17, ed. McGiffert). Juliana, according to Palladius (*Hist. Lausiaca* ch. 147), who quotes an entry made by Origen himself in an ancient book, lived at Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, and she once sheltered him in her house during a persecution of the Emperor Maximius, 238-241.

Jerome quotes from two *editions* both of the translation of Aquila and of Symmachus (the latter of whom he often follows)—thus in his commentary on Ezek. iii, 15, he says, "Aquilæ secunda editio, quam

Hebræi κατὰ ἀκριβείαν nommant, transtulit ἡρεμῶζον." In his commentary on Isaiah lviii, 10, he says: "Verbum Hebraicum ACH Aquila interpretatus est πλῆν * * * Symmachi prima editio * * * * solos interpretati sunt secunda quippe Symmachi vertit εἰδλον." Again, in his remarks on Nahum iii, 1, he speaks of an interpretation of Symmachus, and then goes on to say: "in altera ejus editone reperi," etc. Like Aquila, Symmachus uses the phraseology of the Septuagint in many cases when the sense of his original text, the Masoretic one, is not affected. As Dr. Gwynn has shown, he borrows verbally from Aquila, whose translation was no doubt before him when he wrote.

The extant fragments of the two versions of Aquila and Symmachus are important, as evidence of the condition of the Masoretic text in the second and early third century, just as the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan are, but are otherwise of no independent value; and it would be better if in the current Bible texts containing various readings, the Hebrew, Aquila and Symmachus were respectively quoted as H, HA, and HS.; thus showing them to be only three editions of one text. The Syriac Peshitta version might at the same time be labelled H. Syr, for it also is virtually a translation of the Masoretic text.

Let us now turn to Theodotion and his translation. While Aquila and Symmachus set to work to produce a translation of the Masoretic text into Greek, using the words of the Septuagint only when they represented that text, Theodotion, apparently, had a different purpose. He was the first, so far as we know, to try and build up an eclectic text, compounded of both the Masoretic and the Septuagint. He not only seems to have used the language of the latter more freely than the other two translators just mentioned; but he also, apparently, in some respects, assimilated the Masoretic text to that of the Septuagint, by importing some, though probably not much, of the latter's matter into it. This made it more popular than the other two translations among the Christians; and it seems to have been used concurrently with the Septuagint in some parts of the Church.

Irenæus makes Theodotion a native of Ephesus, in which he is confirmed by the pseudo-Athanasian work already cited. Epiphanius, probably here confounding him with Aquila, makes him a native of Sinope in Pontus. Mr. Swete suggests that he is more likely to be right in calling him a pupil of Marcion (who

flourished about 150), in which the pseudo-Athanasius agrees with him. The text of Epiphanius seems to be corrupt where he fixes Theodotion's date. Dr. Gwynn, who has discussed the question with his usual skill (see Art. "Theodotion," *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*), has shown it to be very probable that when intact it put him in the reign of Commodus, where the pseudo-Athanasius and the Pascal Chronicle also put him. Commodus reigned 180-192. This agrees also with the fact that Irenæus (202 or 3) mentions him.

Irenæus says that, having been a Christian, he became a Jewish proselyte, which is confirmed by Epiphanius. This is not contradicted by Jerome, who sometimes styles him an Ebionite (*De Vir ill.*, 54), adding in *Præf. ad Dan.*, the pungent phrase, "*qui altero genere Judæus est.*" In one place (*ep. ad Aug.*, ch. 19) he calls him a Jew, and it would seem not improbable that he was an Ebionite before he became a proselyte, and it was possibly as an Ebionite of some sect who disapproved of the too Jewish text of Symmachus that he prepared his translation of the Bible, which was, as I have said, much favoured notwithstanding by the early orthodox Christians, who only quote the other two versions above mentioned to denounce them. This is strongly supported by the statement of Philastrius, ch. 145: "Sunt et hæretici alii quæ Theodotionis et Symmachi itidem interpretationem diverso modo expositam sequuntur, non illam beatissimorum priorum, quam ecclesia catholica colit et prædicat. (Harnack, *Alttest. Lit.*, I, 212.)

The first Christian writing in which Theodotion's translation seems to be quoted is a very early one, namely, the Epistle of Hermas, *vis* iv, 2, 4 (see Hort, in Johns Hopkins *Univ. Circ.*, Dec., 1884). He is also quoted in Justin, dial. 31; Clement of Rome, 1 Cor. xxxiv, and Barnabas, iv, 5. Dr. Swete, from whom I take these references, says, "still more remarkable is the appearance of Theodotion's readings in the New Testament." Of these he gives a number (see *Introduction*, pp. 47 and 48), including some not only from Daniel, but from other books, *ex. gr.* Jo. xix, 37 (Zech. xii 10) and 1 Cor. xv, 54 (Isaiah xxv, 8).

This remarkable fact has led Schürer (*Gesch. d. Juden im Zeitalter. Jesu*, III, p. 324) to the conclusion that either Theodotion was older than the Apostles, or there was a Theodotion before Theodotion. While others, including Dr. Gwynn, in the D.C.B., Dr. Salmon, in his *Introduction*, p. 547, and apparently Dr. Swete himself, argue that there were two *pre-Christian* Greek versions of

Daniel, one as preserved in the Chisian MS., and the other in Theodotion (Swete, *Introduction*, p. 48). These opinions seem to me quite impossible in view of the virtually unanimous testimony of Epiphanius, the pseudo-Athanasius, Eusebius, Jerome, &c., about Theodotion and his version : in addition to which that version seems to me to show traces of his having had Aquila's before him when he wrote.

It seems to me also that the explanation of the apparent paradox just referred to is, that the quotations relied upon are not in their original shape, but have been re-edited at a later time by the substitution by the scribes and copiers of the language of Theodotion for that of the earlier Septuagint, a change very natural when we remember that in all or virtually all the current Bibles, Theodotion's translation had in certain cases completely superseded the earlier version. This, as is very well known, was especially so in the book of Daniel. Jerome says of it "*Danielem prophetam juxta LXX interpretes ecclesia non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione* (Jerome, *Contr. Ruf.*, II, 33), and accordingly we find that in every Greek MS. save one, the Codex Chisianus, Theodotion's translation of Daniel has taken the place of the Septuagint (Swete, p. 47).

It is very probable that it was Origen's influence which really caused the substitution in this case to be so widely spread. Jerome attributes to him a special devotion to Theodotion's Daniel in the phrase "Origines in nono *Stromatum* volumine asserit se quæ sequuntur ab hoc loco in propheta Daniele non juxta LXX interpretes, sed juxta Theodotionis editionem disserere." (Jerome on Dan. iv.) Once Theodotion's Daniel was accepted as the best and the authorised translation, it was natural to treat quotations not agreeing with it as corruptions, and to assimilate them accordingly. Hence the probably factitious importance of quotations from Theodotion in works written before his accepted date.

The Book of Daniel was not the only one in which the Septuagint version was discarded from the Greek Bibles and another translation substituted for it; this was also the case, as I shall presently try to show, with the Books of Chronicles and of Nehemiah, while in the case of Ezra, as we have seen, both versions were preserved side by side. In all these cases the books now deemed canonical, as they occur in the Greek Bibles, were

probably taken over from Theodotion, while the old Septuagint version, except in so far as it was contained in Esdras A, was discarded.

Let us now turn to the fifth column of the Hexapla. In regard to this I cannot help thinking that there may have been a very general mistake. It is generally supposed that it contained, not a transcript of the Septuagint in the form of the *textus receptus* of the translation known as the *Koinḗ*, but an edition of that text by Origen in which the variants of the other Greek versions were duly inserted, while supposed *lacunæ*, *redundancies*, &c., &c., were marked by special characters. I think this is very doubtful; I know of no ancient authority for it, nor does it seem to me to be confirmed by such fragments of the Hexapla as have survived in their original form, and of which an example is given by Dr. Swete, taken from a palimpsest in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (*Introduction*, pp. 62 and 63). Field gives other specimens both from the Hexapla and the Tetrapla; Vigouroux gives others (*Dict. de la Bible I*, pp. 691-2).

In all these instances when we turn to the 5th column we find no *obeli* no *rasterisks* nor *marginalia*, but a simple and continuous text. Nor is it easy to see how there would be room for all this latter critical apparatus in a column planted in the middle of so many others. I therefore think it more probable that the 5th column of the Hexapla did not contain Origen's eclectic text, but a transcript of the *Koinḗ*, or ancient Septuagint, without editorial alterations.

This text in the time of Origen was probably in a very pure state, having suffered only from scribal errors, and not from the well-meant efforts of emendators, collators, &c. From what we know, there seems no reason to suppose that Origen was dissatisfied with the *Koinḗ* because the MSS. showed variants and contradictions. What troubled him was its divergence from the Hebrew text: the Hebrew verity, as it was supposed to be by those who did not know that the *textus receptus* in Hebrew was a sophisticated edition of the old book which had been prepared by the Rabbis at Jamnia not earlier than the beginning of the second century.

We have now examined the various contents of the different columns forming the Hexapla. It is quite plain that the two first columns of that collection would be of very slight use for any but Hebrew scholars, of whom Origen was a rare example among

Christians of his day, and even his knowledge of it was not very profound. He therefore probably prepared a smaller edition of his great work, in which these two columns were left out, as were also the Quinta and Sexta, and which was known as the Tetrapla.

This is at all events the usual view of the relation of the Hexapla to the Tetrapla, but I ought to say that Montfaucon, the learned editor of the fragments of the Hexapla, argued that the Tetrapla was the earlier text, basing his view on the Scholion to Psalm lxxxvi, 5, in which it is said that the wrong reading $\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho\ \Sigma\acute{\omega}\nu$ was in the Tetraplas, while the correct text was given in the Octaplas, viz., $\mu\eta\ \tau\eta\ \Sigma\acute{\omega}\nu$, whence he argues that Origen had corrected his former edition in the later ones. He also argues that the Tetraplas in fact contained the uncorrected Septuagint text which was corrected in the Hexaplas—a view he bases on a number of passages from Job taken from the Tetraplas and containing uncorrected forms. (Vigouroux, *Dict. de la Bible*, I, p.694). This shows at all events how important it would be to carefully sift out the Tetraplar and Hexaplar glosses and compare them.

Origen having brought the several texts together, proceeded to prepare an edition of the Greek Bible based on the Septuagint and his collation of the several texts he had brought together. All this seems to point to the great MSS. of the Hexapla having contained an eclectic text as well as the one in the fifth column, if in fact the former was written on the same papyrus. Of the form of this eclectic text we have a good deal of information, as well as some samples. An interesting and new specimen with the original Greek uncial text and the Hexaplaric margination is given in *fac-simile* by Mrs. Lewis in the November number of the *Expository Times*. The process followed by Origen in preparing his eclectic text was apparently as follows:—First he wrote out the *Koinḗ* or Septuagint. In this text he marked all the places where the *Koinḗ* was deficient or redundant when compared with the Hebrew text. The deficiencies he filled in apparently from the version of Theodotion, and put an asterisk in front of the passage, and a metobelos at the close, while he marked the redundancies by similarly using an obelos and a metobelos. The process is described and denounced by Jerome, who says of it (*Hieron. præf. ad Chron.*), “quod majoris audaciæ est, in editione LXX, Theodotionis editionem miscuit, asteriscis designans qua minus ante fuerant,

et virgulis quæ ex superfluo videbantur apposita." Dr. Swete has tersely and clearly described other factors in the Origenic text; thus he says "differences of order between the Hebrew and Septuagint were met by transposition, the Greek order making way for the Hebrew. In this manner whole sections changed places in the LXX text (rather say Origen's eclectic text) of Exodus, of Kings and Jeremiah. In Proverbs only, for some reason not easy to determine, the two texts were allowed to follow their respective courses, and the divergence of the Greek order from the Hebrew was indicated by certain marks prefixed to the *stichi* of the LXX column. Corruptions in the *Koinḗ*, real, or supposed, were tacitly corrected in the Hexapla, whether from better MSS. of the LXX or from the readings of other translators, or in the case of proper names, by a simple adaptation of the Alexandrian Greek form to that which was found in the current Hebrew. "Again," he says, "Origen used the asterisk and obelus together, as Aristarchus had done, to denote that the order of the Greek was at fault. The Hexaplaric signs are also used by Origen when he attempts to place before the reader of his LXX column an exact version of the Hebrew without displacing the LXX rendering. Where the LXX and the current Hebrew are hopelessly at issue, he occasionally gives two versions, that of one of the later translators, distinguished by an asterisk, and that of the LXX under an obelus" (*op. cit.*, pp., 68-71).

This being the textual arrangement of Origen's Eclectic Bible, it was further marked by marginalia giving various readings from the other versions. In these, as the epistle appended to the Arabic version of the Old Testament by Hareth says, the version of Aquila was designated by the letter Alpha, that of Symmachus by Sigma, that of the LXXII by the letters Ain and Beth respectively, that of Theodotion by Theta, the Quinta by He (the letter representing 5), the Sexta by the letter Vaw (standing for 6). (See Rev. J. White, Letter to the Lord Bishop of London, 1791, pp. 12, 13.)

Such was the gigantic and to us most embarrassing work of Origen, since when his eclectic text was transcribed, as it was, without his warning marks, his great authority stamped what was really a very indifferent made up text with such virtue that it largely supplanted and led to the loss of the precious materials out of which it was built up. Origen continued to work at his two great *corpora* of authorities. Thus it would appear from a colophon added to a Syriac MS. containing the translation of Exodus by Paul of Tella

(Cat. Syr. MSS., B.M., p. 30), that he added a collation of the Samaritan Pentateuch to the Hexapla; while in a Vatican MS., given in *fac-simile* by Migne, IV, 875, we are told that after he wrote the Tetrapla he added corrections and scholia in his own hand. (*Prolegomena to Eusebius* by Dr. McGiffert, p. 38.)

The originals of the Hexapla and Tetrapla of Origen and the autograph of his eclectic text were deposited in the library of Pamphilus at Cæsarea on the coast of Palestine. There they were consulted and studied, as that great critic himself tells us, by Jerome. Thus in his commentary on the Psalms, he says, “ἐξαπλοῦς Originis in Cæsariensi bibliotheca relegens;” and again, “cum vetustum Originis hexaplum psalterium revolverem, quod ipsius manu fuerat emendatum.” Again, in his Commentary on the Epistle to Titus, “nobis curæ fuit omnes veteris legis libros quos v. d. Adamantius in Hexapla digesserat de Cæsariensi bibliotheca descriptos ex ipsis authenticis emendare.” Harnack (*Gesch. altch. lit.*, p. 340) raises a doubt as to whether Jerome ever saw Origen’s own autographs. These were no doubt written on papyrus, and as Jerome himself tells us, some of the MSS. at Cæsarea having decayed, they were copied out again on vellum by Acacius and Euzoius (comp. Epist., 34, 1).

The library of Pamphilus, says Dr. Swete, was in existence in the sixth century, for Montfaucon (*Bibl. Coisl.*, p. 262) quotes from *Coisl.*, 202, a MS. of that century, a colophon which states that it had been collated with the oldest copy, which had itself been corrected by the Holy Martyr Pamphilus, and on which it was specially written by the said Martyr that it had been collated and corrected according to the Hexapla of Origen by his own hand. (*Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 75.) Dr. Swete further suggests that this great library at Cæsarea may have been destroyed in the year 638, when Cæsarea was captured by the Saracens. This seems to me to be not quite so clear, for as early as the year 616-17 we find Paul of Tella in Egypt translating the Hexaplar text there. If the library of Pamphilus had been still at Cæsarea, he would hardly have gone from Antioch to Alexandria to make his copy from a copy there, instead of consulting the originals much nearer home, and we must suppose that at that date it had been destroyed with the two famous codices the Hexapla and Tetrapla.

The virtue of the two great collections, the Hexapla and Tetrapla, had been extracted and condensed, as we have seen, by Origen in his eclectic text. This eclectic text was copied by and at the instance of

Pamphilus and Origen ; some of these copies included apparently all his marginalia and scholia and his Hexaplaric marks, while others did not. This edition by Origen, Pamphilus and Eusebius is referred to by Jerome as the *ἑξαπλά*, and has since been known as the Hexaplar text. In the colophon above quoted from the Vatican MS. referred to by Migne, Eusebius is made to claim that he made such a copy, and further to claim that he and Pamphilus acted as correctors of the text (Migne, *loc. cit.*). The corrector (*διορθωτής*) was, of course, a most important functionary in writing books in ancient times, and very often the scribe and corrector changed places. Pamphilus and Eusebius are both qualified with the word in ancient glosses to Biblical MSS. (see Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 77), while a certain Antoninus is mentioned as the one who *ἀντεβαλεν* the same works.

The Hexaplar text as edited by Eusebius and Pamphilus became the standard text for students of the Bible, and copies of it were multiplied by its original editors, and at their instance. Jerome tells us, in a letter to Augustine : “Quod si feceris omnino ecclesiæ bibliothecas damnare cogeris ; vix enim unus vel alter inveniatur liber qui ista non habeat.”

Dr. Swete says of this phrase : “He is drawing a hasty inference from experiences gained in Palestine.” I think this remark is hardly justified. Let us see ; the Armenian version of the Old Testament was made between the years 396 and 430 by Mesrop, Sahak the Patriarch, Eznik, and others. This we learn, says my friend Mr. Conybeare, from three Armenian writers of the fifth century, Koriun, Lazar of Pharpi, and Moses of Chorene. Conybeare has shown that it is in the main a translation from the Greek, and not only from the Greek, but from the Hexaplaric edition of the Greek Bible, whose obeli and asterisks he tells us here and there survive in Armenian MSS. : “According to Koriun, Mesrop, with the help of a Greek scribe Rufinus, began a version in Edessa about 397 A.D., with the Proverbs of Solomon. . . . Later on Koriun and Eznik fetched back from Constantinople an accurate and rare copy of the Scriptures, and the work of translation was resumed. . . . Lastly, Moses of Chorene declares that Sahak and Mesrop, not content with their Byzantine ‘exact’ copies, sent himself to Alexandria for the purpose of completing their works in ways not clearly specified. He also says that John and Artzan on their way to Constantinople stayed in Cæsarea.” (Conybeare, Hastings’ *Dictionary*, Article, Armenian

Version, p. 152.) Conybeare suggests that this Cæsarea was in Cappadocia. I think it must have been Cæsarea in Palestine, and that the object of the visit of the two Armenians was to consult the library of Pamphilus and Origen's original texts there. The visit of Moses of Chorene to Alexandria was also probably to collate a famous MS. of the Hexaplaric version which as we know was there. *Inter alia* Esdras A, which must have been derived, as we shall see, from the Hexapla version, occurs in the Armenian. It is plain therefore that the Hexaplar version was well known in Armenia as well as Palestine. This is not all; Jerome speaks in the highest terms of the Hexaplaric text. Thus he says of it "*Ea autem quæ habetur in ἑξαπλοῖς . . . ipsa est quæ ac eruditorum libris incorrupta et immaculata LXX interpretum translatio reservatim.*" (Ad Rufin II, 27.) We know, from his own statements, that before he applied himself to his great task of making the Old Latin version more conformable to the Hebrew, Jerome occupied himself in translating several books from the Hexapla which he consulted at Cæsarea. He thus speaks of "*Editionem LXX interpretum, quæ et in ἑξαπλοῖς codicibus reperitur, et a nobis in latinum sermonem fideliter versa est.*" (Ep. 106, 2 ad Sunniam.) We do not know to what extent the translation was carried out, for the work is in great part lost, but as he tells us himself it, at least, included the Psalter, Job, and the three books of Solomon (*i.e.*, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles), and also the books of Chronicles (see Swete's *Introduction*, pp. 88-102). It is virtually certain that it did not include Esdras A, for in his preface to his translation of Ezra in the Vulgate, he speaks scornfully of Esdras A and of the Messianic book Esdras IV, as quite unworthy of his notice, and it seems plain that the Latin translation of Esdras A in the Vulgate, therefore, was not Jerome's but derived from an earlier Latin translation. What I here wish to do is merely to support Jerome's statement about the widespread user of the Hexaplaric version against the doubt raised by Dr. Swete.

It would seem in fact that for some time the Hexaplaric text was received all over the Greek world as the best and soundest edition of the Bible, and it was only when Lucian and Hesychius published their editions that it was displaced from large districts. It remained, as Jerome says it was in his day, the standard text received in Palestine.

Let us go on, however; about the years 616-617 Athanasius,

the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, with five of his suffragans, payed a visit to the Alexandrian patriarch. Paul of Tella, and Thomas of Harkel, as Dr. Gwynn says, appear to have been of the party, and their visit to Alexandria led to the translation of the Eusebian Hexapla (which they found there) into Syriac: Paul doing the Old Testament, and Thomas the New.

From notes to his translations of the Books of Kings, still extant, we learn that Paul did his work of translation in the monastery of Saint Anthony, situated in the *Enaton* of Alexandria in Egypt, and that he was at work upon it in the year 616 (Wright's *Cat.*, 34). He further tells us that the Greek exemplar from which his Syriac translation of Joshua was made contained this phrase, "Transcribed from the Hexapla, from which too it was furnished with the various readings, and collated also with the Tetrapla" (*id.*, 32). In the colophon to the translation of Kings already referred to, he speaks of the exemplar of the Hexapla from which his Greek copy was taken, as that preserved at Cæsarea in Palestine, and adds that it was collated with that exemplar, in which was written as follows, "I, Eusebius, have corrected it carefully to the best of my ability" (*id.*, 34). From the colophon to Paul's translation of Exodus, we further learn that the MS. containing the corrections of Eusebius-Pamphilus, from which his Greek original was taken, also contained readings from the Samaritan text.

Dr. Swete says of Paul's translation, that it is servile to "such an extent as sometimes to violate the Syriac idiom" (*Introduction*, p. 114). We can hardly doubt that Paul of Tella has in his translation in fact preserved for us a very careful copy of the edition of the Greek Bible in the form in which it left the hands of Origen and his two scholars, with the obeli and asterisks duly marked. Paul's translation is known as the Syro-Hexaplar, and we have portions of it extant with the Hexaplaric signs duly marked. It is therefore plain that these MSS. preserve for us the text of Paul of Tella's version intact.

Of the Syro-Hexaplar version considerable portions are extant. Thus in the British Museum we have MSS. of parts of Genesis, all Exodus, nearly half of Numbers, parts of Joshua, almost all Judges and Ruth, but without marginalia, and Kings III almost intact. The fourth book of Kings is preserved in a Paris MS. Two volumes of a famous codex of this version reached Europe at an early date, having come thither from the Nitrian desert. One of

these volumes, which was long in the possession of Masius, has been lost for nearly two centuries. It contained part of Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, four books of Kings, Chronicles, Esdras, Esther, Judith, and part of Tobit, from which Masius published some readings.

The other volume still survives in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and contains Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, The Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, Ezekiel, the letter of Jeremiah, Daniel, and the twelve lesser Prophets (see Field's *Hexapla, Prolegomena* LXVII and LXVIII).

In addition to the MSS. just mentioned, in which some of the books of the Old Testament in the Syro-Hexaplar edition have been preserved to us, we have some other remains of the same work, which are more directly germane to our present purpose. First, we have the Catena or collection of extracts from the Bible, and other pious books, preserved among the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum, numbered DCCCLII, to which I have referred in a previous communication. This inter alia contains portions of the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, professedly taken from Paul of Tella's translation. Dr. Gwynn long ago pointed out that there are in this Catena portions of the text of Esdras A, which proves that Esdras A was in the Syro-Hexapla, and, no doubt, therefore, in the original Greek Hexapla also. Esdras A is only preserved in the Catena in certain fragments, the chief value of which is the proof they afford that that text was in the Hexapla. The book, however, occurs intact elsewhere, namely, in some MSS. comprising in the main the Syriac Peshitta version.

The oldest Syriac MS. known to me containing Esdras A, is in the Cambridge University Library, and is referred to under the press mark 001.1.2. on page 1041 of the catalogue of that library, now being published by Mr. S. Cooke. The MS. is known as "the Buchanan Bible," and we are told that it is written in a good Jacobite sirta, probably of the end of the twelfth century. On fol. 230b of this MS. we have the text of Esdras A, with the heading "*According to the Septuagint.*" In the Bodleian are two seventeenth century Syriac Bibles, one copied in 1614, and the other in 1627, the latter having been made for Archbishop Ussher. Both MSS. contain, according to Dr. Payne Smith's Catalogue, the same text of Esdras A, with the same statement that it is derived

from the Septuagint. In the British Museum, Egerton 704, is another MS. written in the seventeenth century, also containing the same translation of Esdras A; another similar MS. is in the Vatican, and is referred to in Assemani's Catalogue, II, 14, No. VII. These are all professedly MSS. of the Peshitta translation of the Old Testament, but in the case of Esdras A and also of the book of Tobit, neither of which existed in the Peshitta copies, from which they were transcribed, we are expressly told in the headings of their two texts that they *are taken from the Septuagint*. The subscription to the British Museum MS. above referred to, according to Mr. Margoliouth, who has with his usual kindness read it for me, reads, "Finished is the book which is the first of Ezra; inasmuch as it was not found in the simple copy (*i.e.*, the Peshitta), *I wrote it according to the Seventy*." I must here also express my obligations to another friend, Mr. A. G. J. Ellis, for his evergreen urbanity and readiness to collate Syriac texts for me.

In Walton's polyglot the Syriac text of Esdras A is the same as that in the MSS. above named. According to another accomplished and obliging friend Mr. Stanley A. Cooke, Walton probably took his printed text from Pococke's MS. at Oxford, No. 391, which contains, on folio 394, the phrase, "according to the Septuagint."

In all these cases the evidence is therefore plain that Esdras A was taken from the Septuagint.

That Esdras A is the Septuagint form of Ezra may also be strengthened by its beautiful Greek as compared with that of the canonical Ezra, which points to its ultimate Alexandrian origin. On this point I should like to quote a passage from Mr. Thackeray, whose testimony is the more valuable because he has not been disposed hitherto to agree with this part of my contention.

He says: "The character of the translation seems to show that it was written for Alexandrian Jews rather than for natives of Palestine, for whom the original Hebrew of the chronicler would suffice. * * * certain small peculiarities of the language also indicate Alexandria as the place of writing; οἱ φίλοι τοῦ βασιλέως (viii, 26) takes the place of Esdras B, οἱ σύμβουλοι (οἱ πρῶτοι φίλοι were the third in the scale of courtiers at the Alexandrian court); in ii, 18 τὰ ἐφαίνηται σοι is inserted. The phrase ἐὰν φαίνηται (if it seem good) occurs in Aristeas (in Merx's *Archiv.*, I, 1870, p. 19), and repeatedly in Egyptian papyri." (Hastings' *Dictionary*, *sub voce*, Esdras I, i,

762.) Every kind of evidence therefore converges on the conclusion which I have been pressing for many years, and until recently upon deaf ears, that the canonical Ezra is a Theodotion text, while Esdras A, as we have it, is a Hexaplaric Septuagint text.

This is not all, I believe most firmly that not only the canonical Ezra, but also the two canonical books of Chronicles, and that of Nehemiah, all of which originally formed a continuous work written in the same style, were all, as we have them, in the Greek Bible, taken not from the Septuagint, but from one of the versions of the Masoretic text, probably Theodotion's, and that it is quite a mistake to treat them as Septuagint texts at all, as they have been so usually treated. To this I shall return at greater length in a subsequent communication. I now merely state it as an *obiter dictum*. The only parts of Chronicles and Nehemiah in Greek which in my view are derived from the ancient Septuagint, are the two pieces attached to the beginning and end of Esdras A respectively. This seems to me a very important and far reaching conclusion.

Meanwhile, let us consider another matter. Esdras A is unquestionably a fragment cut out of a once continuous book of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah. No one can doubt it who examines its beginning and its end, the latter terminating in an incomplete sentence. This being so, it reads very strangely when we turn to Mr. Thackeray's account of the book in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, and to the authors of the subjective and transcendental articles on Ezra and Esdras A in that magazine of German erudition, *à priori* reasoning and very positive assertion, Dr. Cheyne's corresponding dictionary, I mean Kusters and Volz, and find them trying to discover the "Tendenz" or purpose of its author, and arguing as if it were a complete and substantive work written with some special polemical end or view. In this they follow older guides, including my venerable and learned friend, Dr. Lupton, whom I cannot agree with here. Dr. Lupton thinks "that a work which described the rebuilding of the Temple and the beneficence of foreign kings to the work, and which also introduced the story of Josiah slain in an invasion of Syria by the Egyptians, would have a special interest about B.C. 170, when Onias, having fled from the persecution in Palestine under Antiochus Epiphanes, petitioned for leave from Ptolemy Philometor to build a temple for the Alexandrian Jews at Heliopolis, on the site of a ruined Egyptian temple at Bubastis." Of this argument

Mr. Thackeray seems to approve. Like the other arguments as to the date and place of origin of the book urged by De Wette, Ewald, Fritzsche, &c., it involves the impossible view that the book was a complete and an original work, composed or compiled as we find it, with a piece of Chronicles tacked on to its beginning and one of Nehemiah to its end, the latter ending abruptly in the middle of a sentence, instead of being a fragment cut out intact from a larger work. If there be a Tendenz or purpose in the book, then that Tendenz or purpose must cover not only the book of Esdras A, which is a mere fragment, but the complete work of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah. This is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the "Tendenz" argument as applied to this book.

Let us try and find a more reasonable explanation of the whole matter. When Origen, or perhaps his editors Pamphilus and Eusebius, had before them the parallel texts of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah in the Greek translation of the Masoretic text and the Septuagint respectively, he or they would be struck by the great divergence between them. With their views as to the Hebrew Verity they would probably do what he or they did with Daniel, namely, substitute the translation of the whole work, Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, by Theodotion, for the Septuagint version. Field's work on the Hexapla seems conclusive that this was, in fact, done, for in the books just named there are virtually no Hexaplar readings from Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, who followed the Masoretic text more or less closely; the only marginal readings being from the *Koinḗ* or primitive Septuagint. The contrast between these books and the rest of the Bible in this respect is very remarkable, and it seems to me conclusive.

Having substituted the Theodotion text of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah in the way just mentioned, Origen or his editors would discover that by what they had done they had cancelled a long and most interesting episode which had been much used and quoted in the Church, namely, the story of Darius and the three young men, and in order to save this they seem to have cut out of the Septuagint translation that part of it which contained the narrative in question, a considerable context being necessary to understand the story, and which they deemed of the first importance. This they showed by labelling the fragment thus cut out Esdras A. This accounts, it seems to me, in the simplest and most natural way for the occurrence of the two texts of Esdras in the same Bibles, namely,

Esdras A and B. The proceeding was possibly the work of Origen himself.

Esdras A, as we have seen, had probably been gone over to a slight extent and assimilated and corrected by Origen. The editing in the case of this book seems to have been done on a very small scale, but it probably accounts for the solecisms and mistakes in chapter v, verses 5, 55, 71, 73, and vi, verses 18 and 19 of the book, which have caused trouble to the commentators, and most of which I have tried to show did not exist in the original form of the book as known to Josephus.

The fact that the mistakes and solecisms in question, partially due to editing and partially perhaps scribes' mistakes, occur in all the MSS. of the book known to us and in all the early versions, shows that all these MSS. and versions of Esdras A are ultimately dependent on one mother MS., which we can hardly doubt, after this analysis, was in fact the eclectic text from the Septuagint prepared by Origen.

If so, it shows what a wonderful influence that text must have had upon the various editions of the Bible, for Esdras A either occurs, or apparently did so once, in all the oldest copies of the Greek Bible and in most of the old versions, and thus its presence in a MS becomes at once a touchstone of Hexaplaric influence.

This is particularly interesting in regard to the Latin versions. It proves that parts at least of the Hexapla had been translated into Latin before Jerome's time, since Esdras A occurs in the primitive Latin. The fact of there being such a translation, as well as one from the *Kovij* or primitive Septuagint, may account for some of the puzzling variations in the præ-Hieronymian Latin versions. Sabatier publishes two such Latin texts of Esdras A, and Lagarde portions of a third one. The influence of the Hexapla on these versions is a promising subject for inquiry. Meanwhile, however, it shows how necessary it is before we can produce a final and scientific edition of the Septuagint, that we should have an edition of the Hexapla based on all the sources, and bringing Field's magnificent work, which is a great glory to English scholarship, up to date. For this we now have materials covering almost the whole of the Old Testament.

Before drawing my general conclusion, I should like to add a few words by way of parenthesis in regard to another Hexaplar version. The Hexaplar text was either in whole or in part translated

into Arabic by Hareth ben Senân ben Sabat. A note in one of the MSS. formerly at Madrid, and now burnt, tells us he wrote it at Tharcaba in the year 891 of the hej. (*i.e.*, in 1486). In a note in one of the Bodleian MSS. the translation is said to have been made from the Syriac, Holme's *Prol. to Genesis*. Ceriani says he lived at a much earlier date (see *Mon. Sac. et Prof.*, T. I. F.; I, p. xii), and this seems probable, for MSS. of his version of the 14th century are said to occur.

Of this version two examples of the Pentateuch, with the hexaplaric marks duly entered, were presented to Archbishop Laud by Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople, who gave the Alexandrian MS. to Charles the First (see *White's Letter to the Bishop of London*, p. 56), and they doubtless came from Egypt. These MSS. are both in the Bodleian, Laud A. 146 and Laud A. 147; and Field expresses his regret that he could only use some trifling parts of them for collation. It would be a great service to Biblical learning if some scholar would edit these still unpublished MSS., which supplement so valuably the lacunæ in the Syriac exemplars. An Arabic translation of Job from the Hexapla, with the Hexaplar marks, was published by Baudissen in 1870, while MSS. of Hareth's translation of the Pentateuch and Wisdom are mentioned in Assemani's catalogue of the oriental MSS. in the Vatican.

What is more interesting for our purpose is the fact that in a Bible Codex (unfortunately only the second half of it is extant) in the British Museum, and described under number I in the supplementary catalogue by Rieu, there is an Arabic translation of a number of Old and New Testament books which has not been examined or collated, and which contains, *inter alia*, the Arabic translation of Esdras A, no doubt taken from that of Hareth above mentioned, and which ought certainly to be used when we get a scientific text of the book; perhaps it deserves to be itself carefully edited.

In this Paper I have tried to show that Esdras A is a Hexaplar text, a view in which an accomplished writer on Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, Mr. Torrey, tells me he quite concurs. I have by no means yet exhausted the sources of interest of the Book, and will postpone further comment to another occasion.

N.B.—I must now correct an oversight which I have made in common with all others who have recently discoursed on the

books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and take the opportunity of doing justice to a great and courageous scholar who lived long before his time, and was treated with scanty civility by his contemporaries, I mean Whiston. He has in many things forestalled us all, and I have recently, and since this paper was in type, found that in his "Essay towards restoring the true text of the Old Testament," published in 1722, he said some things in this behalf which I am bound to say I thought I had said for the first time myself, and which I now feel bound as an honest person to give him the credit of. He says, *inter alia* : "The Jews have given us an imperfect book of Ezra, instead of the compleat one ; while yet that compleat one is still preserved in the Septuagint version, and vulgar Latin, to this day ; and stands now in our Apocrypha, under the name of the first book of Esdras. This is a very *shocking*, and a very *surprising* observation, but for certain a very true one. 'Tis evident that when we come to enquire for the old genuine book of Ezra, or, as the Greeks write it, Esdras, we are, at first sight, in some difficulty ; because there are extant two books equally pretending to that title ; I mean that Hebrew copy with its Greek and other versions vulgarly owned for Canonical, whose English translation stands in all our Bibles as Sacred Scripture ; and that Greek copy, with its old Latin version, esteemed apocryphal, whose English translation now stands in the front of our Apocrypha. Each of which books * * * do equally lay claim to be the genuine book of Ezra. Both of them do indeed, in most things, agree together ; though the esteemed Canonical be much shorter than that called apocryphal. Now if in this doubt we judge either by the authority of the modern Jews, or by the Christian copies and citations since the days of Jerom, about the end of the 4th century, there will be no doubt which of these books are authentick. The later Jews, from whom we have received all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament, having never delivered to us any other Hebrew Ezra but that standing among the Canonical Scriptures in all our Bibles, as if they had no knowledge of any other that was ever written in the Hebrew language. But then if we enquire into more ancient times we shall see the greatest reason to suspect that the Jews have not dealt fairly with us in this matter since the second century. The known books of the New Testament indeed, never quote any passage out of the book of Ezra, so we cannot get any light thence. But the Aposto-

lical constitutions quote this text out of it : ‘ *Wise Ezra does also admonish thee and say, Go your way, and eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and be not sorrowful.*’ (Const. vii, 20.) This agrees partly with what is now in our books of Nehemiah, which the ancients called the second book of Esdras (Neh. viii, 10), and partly with what is in that we call the first book of the apocryphal Esdra. But if we read the text as the Syrian version of that called the apocryphal book hath it, it agrees with the relation in the Constitutions better than the other. Justin Martyr quotes one famous text from this or some other ancient book of Esdras, which was even then blotted out by the Jews, which accordingly does not appear in any copy. What citations we have among the next ancient fathers—Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, and Eusebius—are also still made from that book we now call apocryphal. But what is most of all remarkable here is, that this apocryphal Esdras is for certain that sacred book which alone Josephus, the Jew, made use of in Hebrew, in the very days of the Apostles, as will be most evident to those who compare his large account of that history with the two copies. Whence it appears that this book alone was originally in the Jewish Bible before the second century and was alone that which the Christians made use of to the days of Jerom, who first brought the other book into reputation in the Church of Christ, etc.”

“The present apocryphal Esdras so-called, though it be really the canonical one In the third, fourth, and fifth chapters, which are entirely omitted in the Hebrew, it contains an earlier account of the occasion of Zerubbabel’s promotion at court under Darius the Mede, and his three prime councillors or presidents, and of the occasion of the first decree of this Darius for the restoration of the Jews, etc., which history having been erroneously applied to Darius Hystaspis by Josephus and others (though it be rightly applied by Ben Gorion) I cannot but fear that our present Greek version of that book (*i.e.*, Nehemiah), as well as of the Hebrew Esra, is only Theodotion’s, and no part of the old Septuagint version; any further, I mean, than Theodotion, as is well known, used very much to imitate those translators in his own version (*op. cit.*, 50–55).” Again he says, “I say nothing here of the Greek canonical Ezra now in our Septuagint Bibles, though I am secure that this is not the genuine Septuagint version of the true book of Ezra as it stood among both Jews and Christians in the first ages, for I have

already proved that the first book of Esdras among the Apocrypha is that true Septuagint version, and no other. Probably the other Esdras, now in the Greek Bibles, is the version of Theodotion." (*Ed.* 114.)

I am bound to confess that I felt uncomfortable when a few days ago I came upon these passages, whose argument and conclusions are so very nearly the same as my own in the first memoir of this series, and which might be suspected to have inspired my memoir, which was in fact written quite independently of it and long before I had seen it. It is strange that it should have been overlooked not by myself, who am not a professed Bible critic, and whose chief studies have been in very different fields, but by the great army of those who have devoted so much labour to the Bible text, especially in Germany, and who unfortunately much too seldom try to learn what "the wise men of old" have said on the subjects they wrote about, and seem to appreciate contemporary wisdom too highly. One thing is plain, that in regard to priority Whiston must have the credit of having first suggested that the Canonical Ezra was probably the work of Theodotion, and that the text of Esdras A was the true Septuagint text of the same book, and I must humbly give place to him in regard to both issues. The independence of my analysis, in which very similar arguments and conclusions have occurred to "the Old Master" and myself at an interval of 200 years, may perhaps, however, be held to strengthen a conclusion which has recently been very sympathetically received by some great authorities who have written to me, and who have affirmed their adherence to it.



AN ARABIC VERSION OF THE PROLOGUE TO ECCLESIASTICUS.

BY STANLEY A. COOK, *M.A.*

It is well-known that the "Wisdom" of Jesus, son of Sirach, or to employ the later Latin designation, "Ecclesiasticus,"¹ was originally written in Hebrew, and that the Greek translation was made by the author's grandson in order to render the work accessible to the "lovers of learning" in Egypt. In a Prologue, characterised by a style freer and more elegant than that of the translation,² the grandson has given us an interesting "apology" which, in spite of its occasional obscurity, is a document of considerable importance. It contains the first allusion to a triple division of the Old Testament Canon: the "Law" and the "Prophets" are spoken of as definite collections, and reference is made to other writings, not yet designated by any particular term, some of which at all events found their way into the "Hagiographa." Besides this, the Prologue clearly illustrates the decay into which the knowledge of Hebrew³ had fallen among the Jews of the Dispersion, and is evidence, also, for the state of culture in Egypt in the second century before Christ.

In the hope, therefore, that anything that may conceivably throw light upon the meaning of this Prologue may be of interest to the members of this Society, I propose to print—I believe for the first

¹ On the origin of this term see the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, s.v., § 1, col. 1164 sq.

² In regard to the style of the translator, Dr. Swete (*Introd. to the Old Test. in Gr.*, p. 300; Cambridge, 1900) remarks that the Prologue is written in "the literary style of the Alexandrian Jews of the time of Euergetes," whilst in the body of the work the translator "drops into the Biblical manner; and his translation differs little in general character from that of the Greek version of Proverbs." Elsewhere (*op. cit.* p. 20 sq.) Dr. Swete observes that "the clumsy Greek of the Prologue, and the stiff artificiality of the book, offer a marked contrast to the simple style of the Pentateuch."

³ The fact that the Canonical books are written in *Hebrew* is here stated for the first time.

time¹—an edition of the Arabic version, and to append a few notes upon some of the other and older versions.

An adequate discussion of all the versions and their relation to one another cannot be attempted here, and it must suffice to remark that the Greek is made from the Hebrew, substantial portions of which have fortunately been recovered in recent years, and that the Syriac, too, is translated direct from the original, though it is not without signs of Greek influence. The old Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, Hexaplar-Syriac, etc., are from the Greek; the Arabic, on the other hand, is apparently from the Syriac.²

Now, although nearly all Greek MSS. of Ecclesiasticus contain the translator's Prologue,³ it is less frequently found in the MSS. of other versions based upon the Greek. It naturally appears in the Syro-Hexaplar, but not in the old Syriac version,⁴ and it is extremely rare in Coptic and Arabic. As regards the Coptic, Mr. W. E. Crum informs me of one fragment, in the British Museum (Or. 5984), from a large papyrus book in uncial, perhaps of the VIth or VIIth century, and he has kindly supplied me with a translation from which I shall have occasion to quote later. Less serviceable is the fragment in the famous Turin MS., probably of the Vth century, edited by Lagarde (*Aegyptiaca*, p. 107), of which only a few words, towards the end of the Prologue, can be made out. In regard to the Arabic, the text printed below appears to be the only one written in the Neski character. It is taken from a modern MS. in the Borgian Museum, Rome,⁵ and is here styled R. Edersheim, in his commentary on Ecclesiasticus (p. 33), mentions a copy of an Arabic version in the Library of the Medici at Florence,⁶ but this statement

¹ The Arabic version printed in the edition of the Apocrypha published at Beirut in 1870 does not come under consideration here.

² The commentaries of Fritzsche, Edersheim, Zöckler, Ryssel, etc., may be consulted for fuller details. Among the special monographs may be mentioned N. Peters, *Die Sahidisch-Koptische Uebersetzung des Buches Ecclesiasticus* (Freiburg i. B., 1898), H. Herkenne, *De Veteris Lat. Eccles., cap. i-xliii.* (Leipzig, 1899).

³ According to Holmes and Parsons, no. 248—with which agrees the Complutensian—has only the spurious Prologue printed in our Authorised Version (falsely attributed to Athanasius, but by an unknown writer, probably of the VIIIth or IXth century), and no. 157 omits both.

⁴ It is conceivable that some late MS. may have inserted a translation from the Greek, but up to the present I have not succeeded in finding any example.

⁵ I am indebted to Professor Guidi of Rome for the copy. It is marked K. viii, 2, see Cersoy, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ix, p. 380.

⁶ Reference to it is made also by Ryssel in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen*, p. 250.

appears to rest upon a misunderstanding. According to Assemani (*Cat. Bibl. Med. Laurent*, p. 61) no. XVIII is the only MS. in the Library containing the Arabic version of Ecclesiasticus, but I learn through Professor Guidi that the MS. does *not* contain the book in question. Now Edersheim observes that this MS. is corrected from the Greek, and particularly notes that in the Prologue the translator states that he has rendered the book *into Syriac*. This latter piece of information, it will presently be seen, actually occurs in the Borgian MS., and, as far as I have ascertained, in no other, and it is therefore not unlikely that Edersheim's MS. is no other than our copy from the Borgian Museum.

Another copy of the version is in the Paris MS., *anc. fonds* 80, described by Zotenberg (*Cat.* no. 179 [3], fol. 60a). It is dated A.D. 1574, and ascribes the translation to Basil, bishop of Tiberias.¹ This MS., a copy of which I owe to M. l'Abbé Nau, is written in Karshūnī (Arabic in Syriac characters), and is remarkable for the statement that the book was translated into *Arabic*. It is here styled P.

Finally, whilst cataloguing some Syriac manuscripts in the University Library of Cambridge, I found a number of mutilated fragments (averaging about 6 inches by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches), containing the Prologue and portions of the opening chapters of Ecclesiasticus in Karshūnī, probably of the XVIth or XVIIth century. Add. 2072¹ (=C¹) consists of ten leaves, of which folios 2-3 contain the Prologue; folio 1a (=C²) contains a small duplicate fragment, and another more complete copy was found in Add. 2072² (=C³).

Of the C fragments C¹ is comparatively less correct than either C² or C³. It contains several errors not found in the remaining two, the diacritical points are marked less regularly, and the / (ℵ) and ° (ℵ) are often indistinguishable (cp. n. 40 below). As these leaves have been used in the bindings of other manuscripts, the margins are

¹ Ecclesiasticus ends as follows :—

എന്നു പറഞ്ഞപ്പോൾ അദ്ദേഹം എഴുന്നേറ്റു വന്നു. അദ്ദേഹം പറഞ്ഞു: "എന്നാൽ, നിങ്ങൾ എന്തു ചെയ്യും?"

² The text differs from that printed in Vol. IV of Walton's Polyglot, and from the closely-related MS. Or. 1326 in the British Museum. See Wright's *Catalogue of the Cambridge Syriac Manuscripts*, p. 1205 sq.

frequently mutilated, with the result that in many cases one or two characters are lost. As a rule, however, a deficiency of this nature in any one of the three can be made good by the help of the other two, so that I have not thought it necessary to indicate such lacunae in the critical apparatus, nor have I troubled to record such slips as **هككنا** C¹ in l. 4, or the spelling **هككنا** C¹ in l. 22, or **هككنا** C¹ C³ in l. 27.

It only remains to be added that the resemblance between the versions is on the whole so complete that we may infer that both R and C are by the same translator as P, viz.—Basil, bishop of Tiberias.

THE ARABIC VERSION OF THE PROLOGUE TO ECCLESIASTICUS.

*From a MS. in the Borgian Museum, Rome, with variants
from MSS. in Cambridge and Paris.*

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | كتاب حكمة يشوع ابن سيراخ وزير سليمان الملك الحكيم |
| 2 | ابن داود النبي ملك اسرائيل عليه السلام اولاً مقدمة ¹ للحكمة |
| 3 | يشوع ابن سيراخ ² لآذا ³ قد اعطينا ورزقنا ⁴ منجاً عظيمة ⁵ |
| 4 | بالشرع والناموس والانبياء ⁶ وما شاكلهم ⁷ : فلذلك يجب مدح |
| 5 | اسرائيل ⁸ : من اجل الادب والحكمة ⁹ : وليس الذين يقرون |
| 6 | وينظرون في جميعها فقط: يعطون المعرفة: بل ¹⁰ والذين ¹¹ |
| 7 | خارج عننا ¹² من الامم ¹³ : يمكنهم معرفة ¹⁴ ما في هذا |

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. P begins with this word. | 2. P adds هككنا . |
| 3. C ¹ begins. | 4. P هككنا هككنا . |
| 5. C ¹ هككنا , P هككنا . | 6. C ² begins. |
| 7. C ¹ , ² هككنا . | 8. C ³ begins. P, C ¹⁻³ هككنا . |
| 9. P هككنا . | 10. C ¹⁻³ هككنا . |
| 11. P هككنا . | 12. C ¹⁻³ هككنا . |
| 13. C ² هككنا . | 14. P هككنا . |

- 8 الكتاب: ان يكونوا¹⁵ ذوي اهتمام وتعبد يوديهم¹⁶ الى
 9 طريق المعرفة التامة: وان يقولوا ويكتبوا العلم¹⁷ باسرد¹⁸: فاما
 10 جدى¹⁹ يشوع²⁰ الذى نصب نفسه²¹ لقراء²² الشرع والناعوس
 11 والانبيا والكتب الابوية. لما اقتنى²³ قنينة كافية: عاد
 12 لينشى²⁴ شيئا مما تودبه²⁵ معرفته فى الحكمة²⁶ والادب:
 13 حتى اذا ما سمعوه²⁷ محبى العلم مستكثرون²⁸ من الزيادة
 14 على التدبير²⁹ الشرعى: فاذعنوا³⁰ ايها الفاضلون مع قواتكم³¹
 15 وحسن نياتكم: ونظركم فى هذا الكتاب: ان تسامعوا³² لى
 16 بالصفح عما³³ يعرض لكم من³⁴ الظن: بعجزى عن شيئا³⁵ مما
 17 اتقنت³⁶ تفسير: او زلت³⁷ فيه عن صحيح³⁸ واجبه:

15. P. **بصه**.17. C¹ **لخلم**, C² ends.19. P. **بببب**.21. P. **هههه**.23. P. **اااا**.25. P. **هههه**.27. P. **هههه**.29. C¹ **اااا**.31. P. **هههه**.33. P. **هه**.35. P, C¹ ³ **هه**.37. C¹ **اااا** (sic) **اا**, P **اااا**.16. C¹ ² **هههه**, C³ **هههه**.18. C¹ **اااا**.20. C¹ **اااا** (sic), C³ **اااا**.22. C¹ ³ **اااا**.24. C¹ **اااا** (C³ lacuna).26. C¹ only
 معرفته فى الحكمة
 . . (C³ lacuna).28. P. **هههه**.30. P adds **اااا**.32. P, C¹ ³ **هههه**.34. C³ omits (so apparent'y C¹).36. P. **اااا**.38. C¹ ³ **هههه** (C¹ apparently
 omits **هههه**), P **هههه**.

- 18 بانه³⁹ ليس يوافق الارادة وقتوة الكلام والمعانى⁴⁰ بعضه بعض⁴¹ :
 19 اذا اتلى⁴² عبرانيًا او نقل⁴³ الى لسان⁴⁴ اخر: وليس هذا
 20 الكتاب وحدد: بل والناموس⁴⁵ الشرعى⁴⁶: والانبيا وسائر
 21 الكتب: وليس المعتبر⁴⁷ فيما بينهم⁴⁸ قليلاً⁴⁹: فلما كان فى
 22 سنة ثمان وثلاثون⁵⁰ للملك⁵¹ المحسن وافيت مصر⁵²:
 23 واقمت⁵³ مدّة: فوجدت تاديباً يونانياً حسناً: ليس باقل⁵⁴
 24 مما انشاده⁵⁵ جدى: فاجبت⁵⁶ على نفسى ان اهتم⁵⁷
 25 واتعب⁵⁸ بمحبة: وافسر هذا الكتاب. وانقله الى اللسان

39. P **חש**.40. P **האמרים**, C¹**האמרים** (*sic*).41. P **העדה**.42. P **חל**.43. P, C¹ **הכל**.44. C¹ **הכל** [C³ lacuna).45. P **האמרים**.46. C¹, ³ omit.47. P **האמרים**.48. C³ (and apparently C¹)
האמרים.49. C¹, ³, P add **הכל** **האמרים**,
האמרים **האמרים**,
and C¹, ³ after **האמרים**
add **האמרים**.50. P **האמרים** **האמרים**.51. P, C¹, ³ **האמרים**.52. C¹, ³ **חל**.53. P adds **חל**.54. P **הכל**.55. P **הכל**.56. P **האמרים**, C¹
(C³ lacuna).57. C¹ **האמרים** (C³ lacuna).58. C¹ **האמרים**.. (C³ lacuna).

- 26 السريانى⁵⁹: فقدّمتُ المعرفة، والسبر⁶⁰: وطول مدّة طويلة
 27 حتى اذا ما كملت نقله⁶¹: الحققت به الذين هم في
 28 المغايرة⁶² الطالبين العلم: حتى اذا غنموا ايسار⁶³ معانيه:
 29 كانت طرقهم شرعيه . وتدبيرهم⁶⁴ ناموسياً: والحمد لله⁶⁵
 30 وحدد⁶⁶.

59. P. الكتاب، C¹. 3 60. C¹ الكتاب.
 الكتاب لهؤلاء الكتابات.

P ends here.

61. C¹. 3 omit.

62. C¹. 3 الكتابات

63. So C³, but C¹ الكتاب.

64. C¹ الكتابات.

65. C¹. 3 adds الله.

66. C¹. 3 adds الكتابات
 الكتاب.

TRANSLATION ¹:—

(1) The Book of the Wisdom of Yeshû' son of Sirâkh, the vezir of King Solomon the Wise, (2) son of David the Prophet, king of Israel, on whom be peace.

First of all, the Introduction to the Wisdom of (3) Yeshû' son of Sirâkh.

Inasmuch as we have been given and endowed with great gifts (4) in the Law, and the *Nomos*, and the Prophets, and the like, and on this account praise is due to (5) Israel for (her) culture and wisdom, and not only those who read (6) and contemplate all of them (a) become endowed with knowledge, but also those (7) of the Gentiles, who are outside, the knowledge of that which is in this (8) book will enable them to be careful and laborious, whereby they will attain to (9) the way of perfect knowledge, that they may speak and write knowledge in its entirety.

(10) My grandfather Yeshû', who laboured (b) to study

¹ I am indebted to Prof. A. A. Bevan for revising this translation and for the notes signed with his initials.

(a) i.e., all the above-mentioned books.

(b) [Lit. wearied himself (cf. نَصَبَ, weariness).—A.A.B.]

the Law and the *Nomos*, (11) and the Prophets, and the writings of the Fathers, having acquired sufficient (knowledge) began (12) to compose something of that which his knowledge was leading him to acquire(c) in the way of wisdom and culture, (13) to the end that when the lovers of learning heard it, they might the more increase (14) in living according to the Law.

And, now, pay heed, O ye excellent ones, with your strength (15) and good intent and your study of this book, that ye graciously (16) forgive me wheresoever you suspect that I have failed in aught of that which (17) I set myself to interpret, or have erred in it (so as to depart) from what is strictly proper to it.

(18) For the meaning and force of words and the significations do not agree one with another (19) when recited in Hebrew or translated into another language; and not this (20) book alone, but also the *Nomos*(d), and the Prophets, and the rest of (21) the books. And there is no small difference(e) between them. (f)

And when it was (22) the thirty-eighth year of King Euergetes I came to Egypt, (23) and stayed there a while, and I acquired a comely measure of Greek culture which was not inferior to (24) that which my grandfather had composed. (g) And I imposed upon myself the duty of applying care (25) and labour with love to interpret this book and to translate it into (26) the Syrian(h) tongue.

So I applied knowledge and activity (lit. watchfulness) for a considerable length of time, (27) until, when I had finished the translation of it, I presented it to those who were proselytes(i) who sought after knowledge, until, when

(c) Adopting P's reading, see n. 25. [In any case the perfect was to be expected.—A.A.B.]

(d) Following C¹⁻³, see n. 46.

(e) The reading of P, see n. 47.

(f) C¹⁻³, P add that the reference is to the Septuagint; see n. 49.

(g) The interpretation is difficult. See the notes below (p. 184). P (see n. 55) reads "which my grandfather had translated."

(h) So also C¹⁻³, but P reads *Arabian*; see n. 59.

(i) The reference is to the Jews of the Diaspora. [The Ar. word (see C's reading, n. 62) corresponds to ܡܠܬܐ in the Syr.-Hex., and seems to be therefore an abstract noun from the Syr. ܡܠܬܐ, or Christian Pal.-Syr.

they had acquired possession of the riches of its ideas, (29) their ways became conformed to the Law, and their mode of life to the *Nomos*; and Praise be to the only God.

The appended brief notes on the versions of the Prologue are based upon Swete's text of the Septuagint, notice being taken of the variants cited by Holmes and Parsons (H-P). The Latin is taken from Heyse and Tischendorf, with variants in the Amiata, edited by Largarde (*Mittheilungen*, I, Göttingen, 1884). The Syro-Hexaplar, of course, is from Ceriani's fine work (*Codex Syro-Hexaplaris*, Vol. VII, Rome, 1874). On the source of the Coptic, see above p. 174.

The heading appears in the LXX as *Ἡρόλογος* [BA, similarly in Lat.], *πρ. Σιραχ* [C], *Σ* omits. With the form the introduction takes in P (l. 2, n. 1) compare the Syr.-Hex. ܫܝܪܐܚ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ. Since C¹⁻³ begin practically at the head of their respective leaves, it is probable that they agreed with P rather than with the fuller introduction in R.

For *πόλλων καὶ μεγάλων* the Ar. has only one term. On the other hand, the Ar. represents *δεδομένων* by two verbs, and has a doublet for *νόμος* (cp. also ll. 10, 20). The transposition of the verbs in P (see n. 4), as also that of the Greek *παιδείας* and *σοφίας* in H-P 253, is without further support.

By "the others that have followed (*ἡκολουθηκότων*) in their steps (*κατ' αὐτοὺς*, omitted in H-P 155)," the authors of the Hagiographa are meant. Syr.-Hex. reads: ܥܡܝܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ, with the marginal note ܥܡܝܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ.

The Arabic corresponding to the clause commencing *καὶ ὡς οὐ μόνον* is evidently conflate.

τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας, Lat. *loquentes*.

τοῖς ἐκτὸς, i.e., The Jews of the Dispersion, Lat. *extraneos*; Syr.-Hex. ܕܥܝܪܐ, but with the marginal ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ.

ܕܥܝܪܐ. In this case the Ar. word would mean 'the condition of a sojourner or proselyte,' a tolerably accurate rendering of the Gr. *παροιμία*. — A.A.B.] ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ, in Pesh. version of Ps. cxix, 54, cxx, 4 represents the Gr. *παροιμία*, and Heb. ܕܥܝܪܐ, ܕܥܝܪܐ.

which is evidently the source of the Ar. reading (l. 7). RV mg. "of another nation." Note Lat. *sed etiam extraneos posse et dicentes et scribentes doctissimos fieri*—reading τοῦς ἐκτὸς.

ὁ πάππος μου. It has been questioned whether πάππος is to be understood here of a grandfather or of an ancestor in the wider sense. The versions agree with the former view in reading *avus* 𐤀𐤓𐤏𐤓, Copt. 'the father of my father,' for the Ar., see l. 10.

ἐπι πλεῖον, either "more and more," or "more (than others)"; Syr.-Hex. favours the former, Lat. *amplius*.

καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατέρων βιβλίων [B A C], so Syr.-Hex., Ar. omits ἄλλων, 𐤓 inserts τῶν ῥεοντων, cp. Copt. "the remainder that are necessary of the books of the fathers."

ἀνὰγνωσιν, Lat. *ad diligentiam (scientiam, Am.) lectionis*.

καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἱκανὴν ἔξιν περιποιησάμενος, Lat. om.

προήθη (περιοσηχθην [𐤓]) καὶ αὐτὸς συγγράψαι, Syr.-Hex. 𐤀𐤓 𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤏𐤓, cp. Ar. l. 11 sq. Lat. *vult et ipse*, with variant *vult* in Heyse, and Amiata.

τι τῶν εἰς παιδείαν καὶ σοφίαν ἀνηκόντων, Ar. inverts the substantives. Note that C¹ has the simpler rendering (n. 26). To express the genitive (𐤓 prefixes περι) Ar. has *mīmā*, Syr.-Hex. 𐤀𐤓 𐤓𐤏𐤓.

φιλομαθεῖς is literally rendered by the Arab. (l. 13), cp. Syr.-Hex. 𐤀𐤓 𐤓𐤏𐤓.

καὶ τούτων ἔντοχοι (ἐντοχοι, 𐤓^{ca} A) γενόμενοι. Lat. *et illorum periti facti*. Contrast the reading of the Ar. (l. 13), Syr.-Hex. 𐤀𐤓 𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤀𐤓 𐤓𐤏𐤓 (‘so that the lovers of knowledge who were hearers of these things’), Copt. "that the lovers of knowledge might hear them."

The interpretation of the Greek is admittedly notoriously difficult, τούτων would refer either to the writings of Jesus b. Sirach, or, less probably, to the canonical writings already referred to.

ἐπιπροσθῶσιν [B A C], but ἐπι προσθησουσιν [𐤓], with which Syr.-Hex. 𐤀𐤓 𐤓𐤏𐤓 agrees. With this and the words that follow, cp. Lat. *magis magisque attendant animo, et confirmentur ad legitimam vitam*.

παράκέκλησθε οὖν, etc. Copt. "I beg you, therefore, that ye bring your minds into the good . . and that ye read and take note with us of certain passages (λέξεις) as to which (?) we had pondered in the labour (or difficulty) of translation." *c̣ṿoia* Syr.-Hex. slavishly 𐤀𐤓 𐤓𐤏𐤓, with which agrees Ar., cp. l. 15.

εὑρον [H-P 106 *cyren*] οὐ μικρὰς παιδείας ἀφόμεσιον [B N A C], but μικραν παιδεῖαν ἀφοβον [H-P 106], παιδείας ἀφορμην [H-P 254, ἀφορμην also ib. 55], ἀφονοις [ib. 23], εφοδιον [Alex.]. The obscurity of the passage is clearly seen in our own versions. The renderings of the older versions are: Syr.-Hex. "I found a learning that resembled not a little (?)," (ܐܠܝܬܝ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ), with the marg. addition "viz. that of his grandfather (ܐܬܬܝܬܝ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ)". Copt. "I found great learning like to ours," Lat. "*inveni ibi* [om. *ibi*, Am.] *libros relictos, non parvae, neque contemnendae doctrinae*. For the Ar. see above, l. 23 sq. (note g).

The general meaning is taken to be: "no little difference of culture" (Zöckler, Ryssel), the reference being to the contrast between the Hellenist culture in Egypt and that of the Jews in Palestine. That a MS. or copy is meant is apparently the view of the AV ("a book of no small learning"), RV ("a copy"), and RV mg. ("a like work"). There is a hint of it in the addition in the Arabic version, see l. 24 (note g).

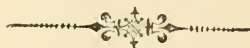
ἀναγκαιότατον [+ οὖν N C] ἐθέμην αὐτὸς [καὶ αὐτ. εγω N*, καὶ αὐτος N^{c.a} AC] προσενέγκασθαι τινα [om N*] σπονδῆν καὶ φιλοπονίαν [B N AC], Lat. *itaque bonum et necessarium putavi et ipse aliquam addere*, etc. Syr.-Hex. ܐܠܝܬܝ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ. For the Ar. cp. l. 24 sq.

On the addition in the Ar. version see l. 25 sq. and n. 59 (cp. *h*).

πολλήν γὰρ ἀγρυπνίαν καὶ ἐπιστήμην προσερεγκάμενος. H-P 106 reads σπονδῆν κ. ἀγρυπνίαν. Lat. *et multā vigiliā attuli doctrinam*.

ἐν τῇ ἐπιστήματι τοῦ χρόνου [H-P 307 *nomon*]; cp. Lat. *in spatio temporis* and Syr.-Hex. ܐܠܝܬܝ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ.

ἐν τῇ παροικίᾳ. The reference is to the Jews of the Diaspora. Lat. om., Syr.-Hex. ܐܠܝܬܝ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ. On the Ar. see the translation, note *i* (p. 180).



ANA-PANI-ÎLI, ILLUSTRATED FROM THE HEBREW.

By E. J. PILCHER.

See Dr. T. G. Pinches' description of a Cylinder belonging to J. Offord, Esq.
Proceedings XXIV, 90-93.

The name *Ana-pani-Îli* contains an Assyrian compound preposition, and should apparently be read as "Before God." But if the preposition be not a compound one, then it is "Unto the face of God." In either case we must consider the Semitic idiom, which employs the word *panu* = "face," not merely for the actual countenance, but also to convey the ideas of presence, position, and surface.

The name will immediately recall *Peniel* (Gen. xxxii, 31), where God appeared to Jacob. *Peniel* פְּנִיאל undoubtedly means "the presence of God," as we may see by comparing Exod. xxxiii, 14, "My presence פְּנִי shall go with thee," and Lam. iv, 16, "They respected not the presence of the priests, פְּנֵי כֹהֲנִים." In Exod. xxxii, 17, "Three times in the year all thy males shall appear in the presence of the lord Yahveh, אֶל-פְּנֵי הָאֲדֹן יְהוָה," and Gen. xxvii, 7, "that I may eat, and bless thee in the presence of Yahveh אֶל-פְּנֵי יְהוָה," we have the Hebrew compound prepositions אֶל-פְּנֵי and לְפָנֵי, which correspond in power with the Assyrian *ana-pani*; and this is strong presumptive evidence that *Ana-pani-Îli* is the absolute equivalent of the Hebrew *Peniel*, which also appears as a proper name in 1 Chron. viii, 25 (though the Massoretic note directs us to read *Penuel*, as in 1 Chron. iv, 4). The Greek geographers tell us of a locality in Phenicia named Θεοῦ πρόσωπον, which looks very like a translation of the same name; and it is a pity they did not content themselves with transcribing it as, say, Φανόνηλ, as we find in Luke ii, 36. It is therefore extremely probable that the Phenicians, like the Hebrews, styled the place of a theophany a *Peniel*; and *Peniel* and *Ana-pani-Îli* are thus equivalent to the Greek name *Theophanes*. This, however, does not explain why *Ana-pani-Îli* received his name; and we can only suppose that his birth aroused the reverent awe of his parent, who recognised by the event that he was "in the presence of God;" just as Jacob at *Peniel* awoke to the fact that he was in the presence of his deity.

MANUSCRIPT PORTIONS OF THREE COPTIC
LECTIONARIES.

BY J. E. GILMORE.

Not long ago I acquired the MS. remains of a Lectionary (or rather of three Lectionaries) in the Bohairic dialect of Koptic,—that now used in the services of the Monophysite Church of Egypt. Bohairic MSS. are not usually very old, and these are of a relatively respectable age, dating probably from the XVIth century. As the Lectionary system of the Egyptian Church is not very well known in this country, it may perhaps be not amiss to give a short explanation of it before proceeding to a description of the MSS. and their contents. There is no regular reading of the Scriptures in course in the Daily Offices ; one or more Lessons from the New Testament are read at each of the Canonical Hours, but these are invariable, or nearly so, (like the Capitula at certain of the Hours in Western Rites). There is, however, an Office called the Prayer of the Evening (or Morning) Incense used on all Sundays and great Festivals (the Evening Office being, as usual in the East, recited on what we call the evening of the day before), for these Offices, a Gospel Lesson varying with the Day is appointed. For the Liturgy proper Lessons are not provided for every day as in the Byzantine Rite, but for Sundays, Festivals, and some other days, there are no less than four, taken from (1) The Pauline Epistles, (2) The Catholic Epistles, (3) The Acts, (4) The Gospels, the last being preceded by a variable verse or verses from the Psalms corresponding to the Roman Gradual. On certain occasions, such as the Epiphany and Holy Week, a long series of Lessons from the Old and New Testaments is read, but except on such occasions the Old Testament is not used at all, which may perhaps account for the loss of a considerable part of the

Bohairic version of it. A complete Lectionary should also contain the Homilies read in Holy Week.*

The MSS. I have now to describe are written on Oriental paper, with the leaves (not the pages) numbered in Koptic, and are at present bound in three folio volumes in a modern Egyptian binding of red leather. When entire they probably formed a complete or nearly complete collection of the Lessons at the Office of Incense, and the Liturgy throughout the year, but unfortunately a large part has perished, and the remaining leaves have been miserably displaced by the ignorant Arab binder, who could not read Koptic, while there is no parallel Arab version and few Arab rubrics or headings. To proceed to the description of what remains: Volume I contains seven leaves (numbered 4 to 10) from a Katameros (ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲧⲁⲙⲉⲣⲟⲥ) for the months of Athor and Choiak (spelt ⲭⲱⲕ), *i.e.*, from October 28th to December 26th; it is thus probably a small fragment of the second of six volumes, each containing the Lessons for Saints' Days for two months. It is written in large handsome uncials in red and black with a great deal of ornamentation. The remaining leaves contain the Lessons for the 2nd day of Athor (October 29th), "Simon the Apostle." This commemoration is rather remarkable, as it nearly coincides with the day (October 28th) on which SS. Simon and Jude are commemorated in the Western Church, while no Egyptian calendar I have been able to refer to mentions S. Simon (*eo nomine* at least)†; the Byzantine Church assigns him to May 10th, the Armenian to September 28th. The lessons given are Evening (ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲗ), verses from Psalm cxviii,

* Malan, *The Holy Gospel and Versicles for every Sunday and other Feast Day in the Year as used in the Coptic Church*, gives (from a MS. in Koptic and Arabic) the Gospels used at 'Evensong' and 'Matins' (*i.e.*, at the Offices of Evening and Morning Incense), and at the Liturgy; this book is easily accessible, and the table of Gospels is reproduced from it in Scrivener's *Introduction*, and Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, but for the other Lections recourse must be had to such inaccessible sources as Mai's *Scriptorum vetrum Nova Collectio*, and an article by Legarde in the *Proceedings* of a Gottingen Society (see Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, p. a-LXIX). Brightman enumerates over twenty MS. Lectionaries, more or less complete, in European libraries (see also Evetts, *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, pp. 35-37, where the full contents of a Kutmarus or Lectionary of A.D. 1396, now at Florence, are described).

† His body, however, is said to be buried in the White Monastery in Upper Egypt. See Abû Sâlih, *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, translated by Evetts, p. 237.

John viii, 19-26. Morning (ϣορν), verses from Psalm cxviii, Luke vii, 29-35, Liturgy, 11 Cor. x, 7-15, Jas. v, 9-15, Acts ix, 10, *sq.* The rest is wanting.

The second volume (which does not appear to have any connection with that just described except in subject matter, as it differs in the size of the pages, which are larger, and in the style of the writing and ornament) now contains thirteen leaves, numbered in Koptic 40-42, 61, 69, 99, 158, 160-162, 169-170, 176, with Lessons for Lent and Palm Sunday. It is written in red and black, with a good deal of coloured ornament. There is scarcely any Arabic matter (the other two volumes each have a little).

The Lessons in it are :—

(ff. 40-42). Jo. iv, 17-42, part of a Lesson, there is nothing to shew to what day it belongs—probably the 2nd or 3rd Sunday in Lent.

(f. 61). 1 Pet. iv, 15, 16, Acts xv, 36-38.

(f. 69). Matt. xxiii, 16-25, part of the Morning Gospel for the 6th (our 5th) Sunday in Lent (Matt. xxiii, 1-39).

(f. 99). 1 Tim. ii, 2-3 (end of Lesson); Jude i, 23-25; Acts xxvii, 16-17 (beginning of Lesson).

ff. 158-164 (or 162). (Saturday of Lazarus, *i.e.*, that before Palm Sunday, Morning Gospel), Luke xviii, 35-43 (Malan gives Luke xviii, 31-43, or Mark x, 46-52); (Liturgy) 1 Cor. ii, 1 (beginning of Lesson, f. 159 is lost); 1 Pet. ii, 1-6 (end of Lesson); Acts xxvii, 38-44; verses from Ps. cxxviii (the next leaf is numbered $\overline{\text{p}\overline{\text{x}}\overline{\text{z}}}$ but should be 162); John xi, 1-10 (beginning of Lesson, Malan gives Jo. xi, 1-45).

(ff. 169-170). (Palm Sunday. Morning Gospel) Luke xix, 6-10 (end of Lesson, Luke xix, 1-10, in Malan); (Liturgy) Heb. ix, 11-20 (beginning of Lesson).

(f. 176). 1 Pet. iv, 6-11 (end of Lesson); Acts xxviii, 11-12 (beginning of Lesson).

The third volume is also in folio, written on Oriental paper in red and black in a rougher hand than the other two, and having Arabic headings, and apparently originally formed a complete Lectionary for the months Thoth, Paopi, Athor, Choiak, Tobe, and Mecheir (= August 29th-February 24th). The surviving leaves are numbered 8-11, 24, 31-32, 34-37, 39, 53-54, 57-58, 69-71, 73, 78, 81-83, 85-86, 103, 109, 114, 117, 123, 125-126, 128, 130-134, 137, 139-142, 144-147, 149, 164-167, 175-176, 198.

The remaining Lessons (besides verses from the Psalms before each Gospel) are :—

(ff. 8-10). Thoth, 2nd Sunday. Liturgy, Jas. ii, 5, Acts xi, 19-21, Luke xi, 21-28.

(ff. 10-11). 3rd Sunday. Evening, Mark i, 29-34; Morning, Matt. viii, 5-11 (part of Lesson).

(f. 24) Paopi, 1st Sunday. Liturgy, 11 Cor. iii, 12-16, 1 Pet. i, 22-23, Acts xiii, 36-37 (part of Lesson).

(f. 31). 2nd Sunday. Liturgy, Luke v, 6-11 (end of Lesson, v, 1-11, in Malan).

(ff. 32-37). 3rd Sunday. Evening, Mark iv, 35-41 (f. 33 lost); Morning, Luke xxiv, 9-12 (end of Lesson, xxiv, 1-12, in Malan); Liturgy, 1 Cor. xvi, 9-14, Jas. iv, 7-10, Acts xv, 4-7, Matt. xii, 22-34 (f. 38 lost).

(f. 39). 4th Sunday. Evening, Matt. xiv, 29-36 (end of Lesson); Morning, Jo. xx, 1 (part of Lesson, 1-18 in Malan).

(ff. 53-54). Athor (or Hator). 2nd Sunday. Liturgy, Matt. xiii, 2-22 (part of Lesson, Malan gives Matt. xiii, 1-8).

(ff. 57-58). 3rd Sunday. Liturgy, 1 Pet. iv, 1-2, Acts v, 30-33, Luke viii, 4-8.

(ff. 69-70). Choiak, 1st Sunday. Liturgy, Luke i, 12-45 (end of Lesson, i, 1-25 in Malan).

(ff. 70-73). 2nd Sunday. Evening, Luke vii, 36-44 (part of Lesson, 36-50 in Malan) (f. 72 lost); Morning, Luke xi, 21-28 (end of Lesson, 19-28 Malan); Liturgy, Romans (?).

(ff. 78-81). 3rd Sunday. Evening, Mark i, 31 (end of Lesson, i, 29-34 in Malan); Morning, Matt. xv, 21-38 (part of Lesson, xv, 21-31 in Malan); (ff. 79-80 lost); Liturgy, Luke i, 41-56 (end of Lesson, i, 39-56 in Malan).

(ff. 82-86). 4th Sunday. Evening, Luke viii, 1-3; Morning, Mark iii, 28-35; Liturgy, Rom. ix, 6-7 (part of Lesson, f. 84 lost); Acts vii, 9-10 (end of Lesson); Luke i, 57-77 (part of Lesson, i, 57-80 in Malan).

(ff. 103-109). Tobe, 4th Sunday. Evening, Jo. v, 34-45 (part of Lesson, v, 31-47 in Malan); (ff. 104-108 lost); Liturgy, Jo. ix, 15-24 (part of Lesson, ix, 1-38 in Malan).

(f. 114). Mecheir, 1st Sunday. Liturgy, 1 Cor. vi, 2-5 (end of Lesson); 11 Pet., i, 10-11; Acts xxii, 6-9 (part of Lesson).

(f. 117). 2nd Sunday. Evening, Jo. iv, 46-54.

(ff. 123-126). 3rd Sunday. Morning, Jo. xii, 44-50; Liturgy, Heb. iii, 1-3 (part of Lesson, f. 124 lost); Acts xx, 9 (end of Lesson); John vi, 35-40 (vi, 27-40, or v, 27-46 in Malan).

(ff. 126-131). 4th Sunday. Evening, Luke xvii, 1-3 (part of Lesson, xvii, 1-10 or 1-19 in Malan); Morning, Luke xvii, 11-19 (v, 27-39 in Malan); Liturgy, 1 Tim. i, 1-2 (part of Lesson, f. 129 lost); Acts vi, 6-7 (end of Lesson); Luke xix, 1-10.

(ff. 131-134). 5th Sunday in any of the first six months of the year (Thoth to Mecheir), Evening, Matt. xiv, 15-21; Morning, Mark vi, 35-44; Liturgy, 1 Cor. xiv, 18-21, Jas. v, 1-3, Acts xxiv, 1-4.

Lessons for Holy Days.

(ff. 137-140). Thoth, 1st. New Year. Evening, Matt. xiii, 49-50 (part of Lesson); Morning, Mark ii, 18 (part of Lesson); (f. 138 lost); Liturgy, 1 John, ii, 8 (end of Lesson), Acts xvii, 16-18, Luke iv, 14-22.

(ff. 140-146). Thoth 2, St. John Baptist, Evening, Matt. xiv, 1-12; Morning, Luke ix, 7-11 (7-9 Malan); Liturgy, Heb. xi, 32-33 (part of Lesson, f. 143 lost), Mark vi, 14-29.

(ff. 146-149). Thoth 17, Feast of the Cross, Evening, Jo. viii, 28-42; Morning (f. 148 lost), Jo. xii, 34-36 (end of Lesson); Liturgy, 1 Cor. i, 17-21, 1 Pet. ii, 11 (part of Lesson).

(ff. 164-167). Athor 8, The Four Living Creatures. Morning, Jo. xii, 28-36 (end of Lesson, 26-36 Malan); Liturgy, 1 Tim. v 17-21, 1 Pet. v, 1-2, Acts xv, 4-7, Matt. xviii, 12-22 (Jo. i, 43 sq. in Malan).

(f. 167). Athor 25, Mercurius. (Lessons lost.)

(f. 175-176). Choiak 19, Gabriel. Liturgy, Heb. ii, 5-8, 1 Pet. i, 3-5, Acts x, 21-43.

(f. 176). Choiak 28, Eve of The Nativity. Evening, Matt. i, 1-5 (part of Lesson, i, 1-17 Malan).

(f. 198). Mecheir 8, Presentation in the Temple. Evening, Luke ii, 15-20; Morning, Luke ii, 40-43 (part of Lesson, ii, 49-52 Malan).

I have called this Volume III, as it appears to be a little later in date than the other two, but if it and what I have called Volume II, which between them once contained the Lessons for the whole year, be regarded as complementary parts of a single work, it must be considered as the first, since the Koptic, like the Byzantine year,

begins in the autumn with Thoth. No Lessons are provided for Sundays in the months Phamenoth, Pharmuthi, and the first half of Pachon, since they are covered by the 15 Sundays of the Season of Lent and Eastertide. The volume which contained the Lessons for Lent and Easter ought also to contain those for the last three months of the year, Pauni, Epipi, Mesore.

EGYPTIAN "FOUNDATION DEPOSITS"

OF

BRONZE AND WOODEN MODEL TOOLS.

BELONGING TO E. TOWRY WHYTE, *M.A., F.S.A.*

The bronze foundation deposit is composed of eight model tools, of which six are shown on the accompanying Plate; namely, two axes, $1\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$ each, one of which is shown, fig. IV; five chisels of varying size from $2'' \times 1\frac{3}{8}''$ long, of which three are shown in figs. III and VI; and one knife $2''$ long, fig. VII. They are all made of thin metal and are in good condition. I unfortunately do not know in what part of Egypt they were found.

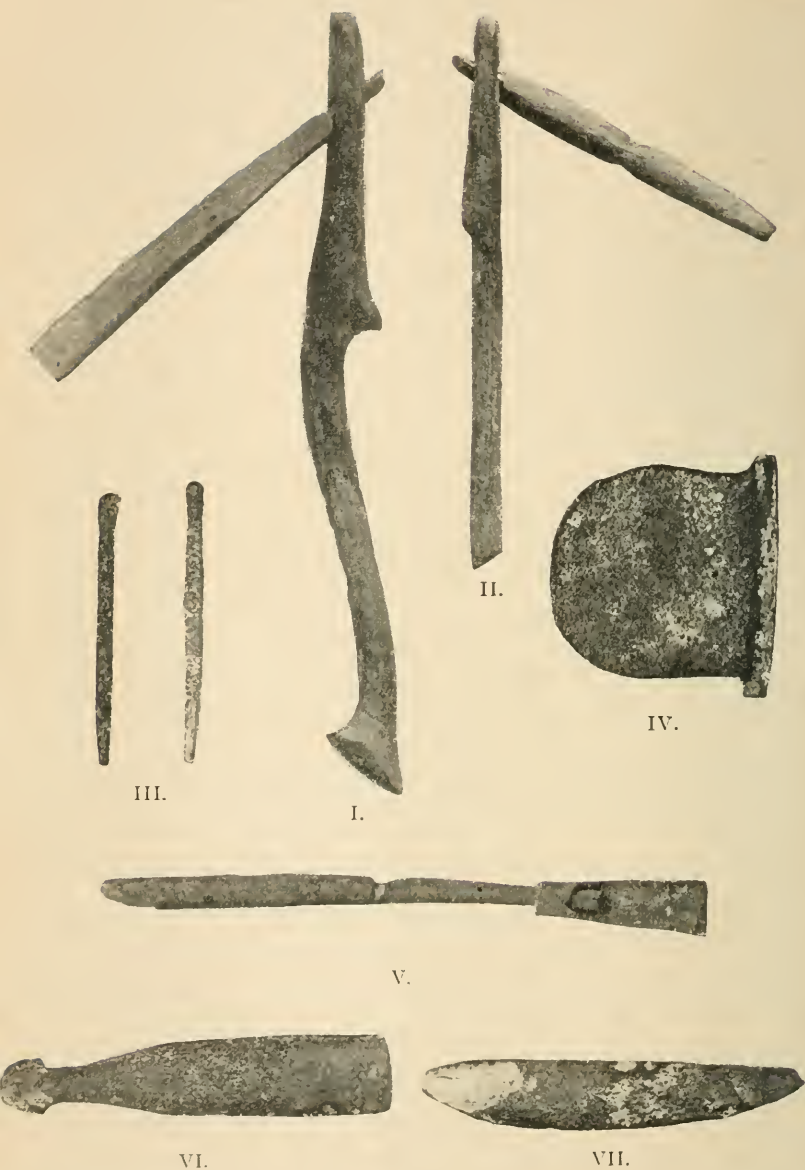
The wooden models are a hoe, the handle of which is acacia wood and the blade ebony, fig. I, which is pierced with two small holes for the cord lashing, now wanting; the length of the handle is $4''$. The pick, fig. II, is made entirely of acacia wood, and is $2\frac{7}{8}''$ long; whilst the spud, fig. V, has a thin bronze end on an acacia wood handle: its length is $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Erratum to Dr. Pinches' paper, "Greek Transcriptions of Babylonian Tablets," *Proceedings*, March, 1902.

Page 110, line 1 of Greek transcription, should read :—
[γισιμ]αρ ε[ομ].

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday, June 11th, 1902, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

Prof. SAYCE, *President*: "The True reading of the Hittite Hieroglyphs."



EGYPTIAN MODELS OF TOOLS,
Belonging to E. TOWRV WHYTE, *M.A.*, *P.S.A.*

THE LIBRARY.

The very large and rapidly increasing number of unbound books and pamphlets received for our library, either by gift or by way of exchange for our "*Proceedings*," makes the question of how to deal with them very urgent.

In their present condition, being only in paper covers, and not bound up into volumes, they are difficult to arrange and to keep in due order. Moreover, the unavoidable damage to the flimsy binding, due to constant reference and loan, soon causes the pages to become loose, and consequently lost.

Among the many books that need immediate attention may be mentioned the "Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française," the "Musée Guimet," the "Révue de l'histoire des Religions," and the "Révue Archéologique," all of which are valuable works, and are constantly either consulted in the library, or taken out on loan.

To bind these and similar books in plain, strong binding seems to be absolutely necessary in order to preserve them for the use of the Members. The cost of doing *all* that is desirable would be considerable, but a good deal could be done for £100.

The Society cannot afford it out of its narrow income, and the Members are therefore appealed to, to assist in raising the necessary sum.

Subscriptions may be paid to the Secretary, at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, and will be duly acknowledged in the "*Proceedings*."

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-SECOND SESSION, 1902.

VOLUME XXIV.

Fifth Meeting, 11th June, 1902.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., &c., PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—Rev. C. H. W. Johns. Assyrian Deeds and Documents. Cambridge, 1902.

Vol. I.—Cuneiform Texts.

Vol. II.—Cuneiform Texts, Introduction, Officials, Metrology.

Vol. III.—Money Loans, Legal Decisions, Deeds of Sale, Slave Sales.

From the Author, Rev P. Cesare A. de Cara, S.J.:—"Gli Hethei-Pelasgi Ricerche di storia e di archeologia orientale, Greca ed Italica. Vol. III. Rome. 8vo. 1902.

From the Author, Stanley A. Cook, M.A.:—"Israel and Totemism." *Jewish Quarterly Review*. April, 1902.

From the Author, Edouard Naville:—"Les plus anciens Monuments Egyptiens." *Recueil de Travaux*, Vol. XXIV. Paris, 1902.

The following Candidate was elected, having been nominated in May:—

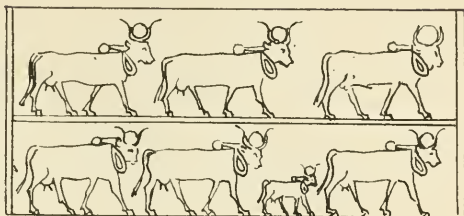
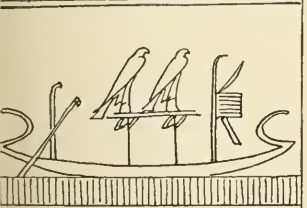
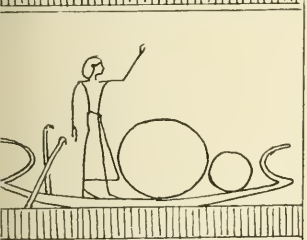
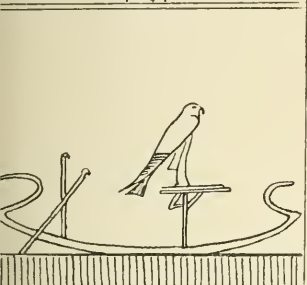
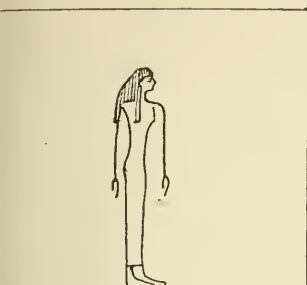
C. P. Keith, B.Sc. University of Pennsylvania, 210, South 4th Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

The following Paper was read:—

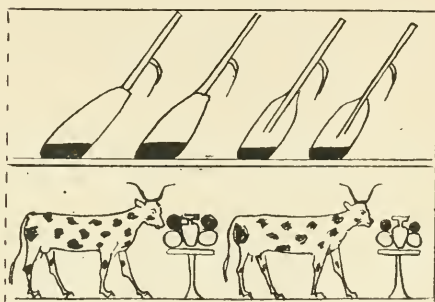
PROF. D. H. SAYCE (*President*): "The True Reading of the Hittite Hieroglyphs."

A discussion followed, in which the Rev. Dr. Walker, Mr. Percival, Sir H. H. Howorth, Dr. Pinches, Mr. Read, Dr. Emil Reich, Mr. Rouse, and the President, took part.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.



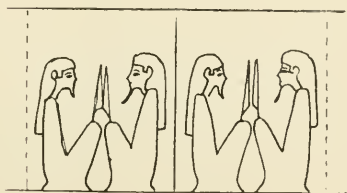
CHAPTER CXLVIII. Louvre, III, 89.



CHAPTER CXLVIII. Leyden Mus., No. II.



CHAPTER CXLIV. Brit. Mus., 9913.

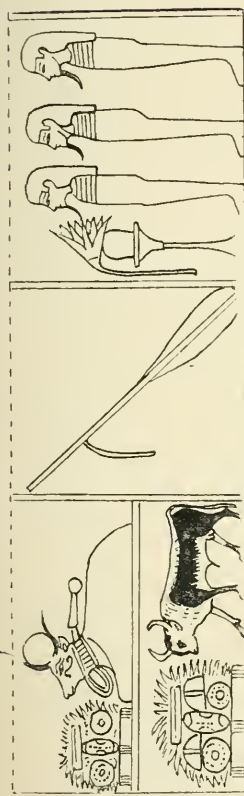


CHAPTER CXLIV.
Brit. Mus. Pap. Brocklehurst II.

CHAPTER CXLIII.
LEPSIUS, *Tottenbuch*.

PLATE XLVI.

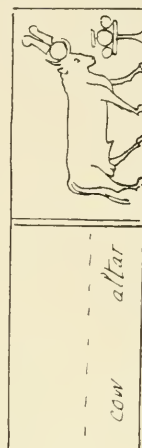
THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.



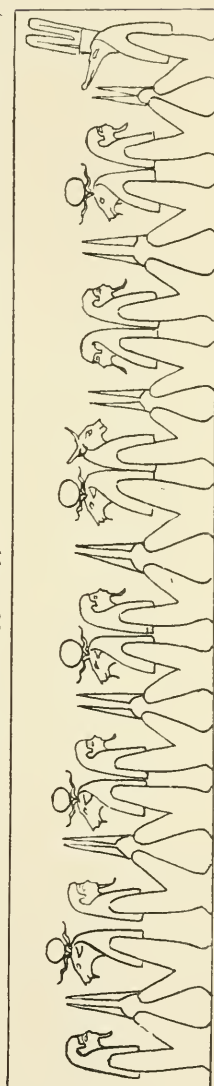
CHAPTER CNLVIII. Papyrus of Ani.



CHAPTER CNLVIII. British Museum Papyrus 9900.



CHAPTER CNLVIII. Louvre. III, 93.



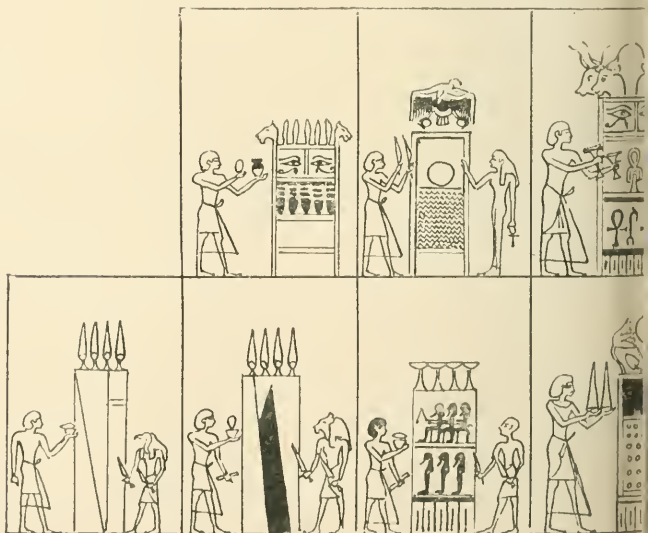
CHAPTER CNLIV. Louvre, III, 89.



CHAPTERS CXLV A

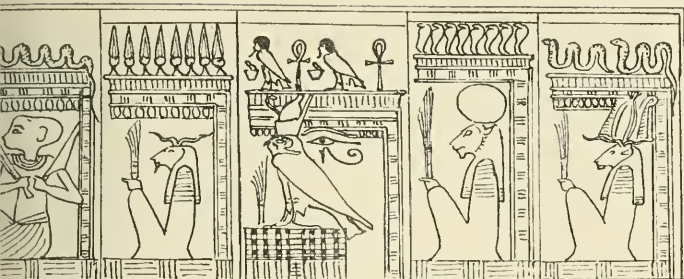


CHAPTER CXLV.

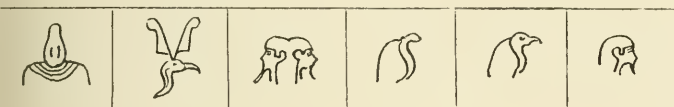


CHAPTER C

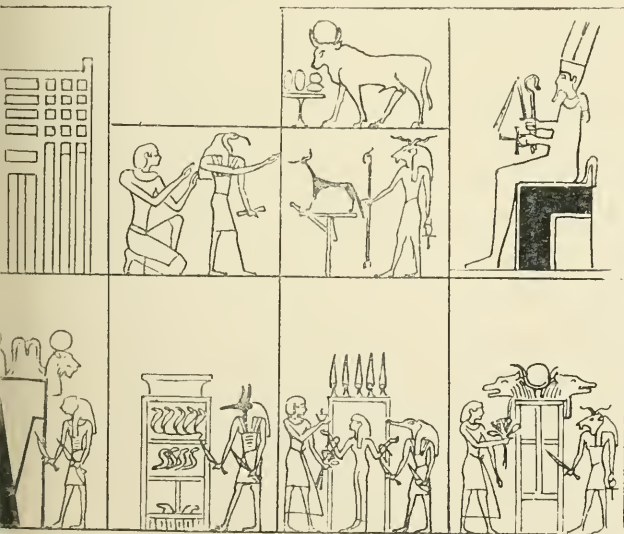
HE DEAD.



Papyrus of Ani.



enephtah Siphtah.



THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE, D.C.L.

(Continued from page 143.)

CHAPTER CXLIV.

The Chapter of the Arrival (1).

The first gate. He whose face is overturned, who has many attributes, is the name of the occupant of the first gate. The adjuster, is the name of the warden thereof, and he with the loud voice the name of the herald.

The second gate. He who raises his face, is the name of the occupant of the second gate; he with the revolving face (2) is the name of the warden thereof; the consuming one is the name of the herald.

The third gate. He who eats his own filth, is the name of the occupant. The watchful, is the name of the warden thereof, the curser is the name of the herald.

The fourth gate. He who opposes garrulity, is the name of the occupant of the fourth gate; the attentive one is the name of the warden thereof, the great one who drives back the crocodile is the name of the herald.

The fifth gate. He who lives on worms, is the name of its occupant, the consuming flame, is the name of the warden thereof, the horn which strikes the furious, is the name of the herald.

The sixth gate. He who makes the loaves, with a thundering voice, is the name of its occupant; he who shows his face, is the name of the warden thereof, the stoneknife which belongs to the sky, is the name of the herald.

The seventh gate. He who takes possession (3) of their knives, is the name of the occupant of the seventh gate; the high voice is

the name of the warden thereof, he who drives back the enemies is the name of the herald.

O ye, these gates, who are the gates to Osiris, ye who guard their gates, ye who herald the things of the world to Osiris every day. Osiris *N.* knows you—he knows your names; for he is born in Restau, where all the glory of the horizon was given him. *N.* receives the investiture in Pu, like the purification of Osiris. *N.* receives the saying in Restau, when he leads the gods on the horizon with the ministrant, the protectors of Osiris. I am one of them in their leading. *N.* is the glorious one, the lord of the glorious, a glorious one who performs the rites. *N.* celebrates the festival of the first day of the month; he is the herald in the fifteenth day of the month. O thou who revolvest. *N.* carries the sacred flame to the hand of Thoth in the night when he sails through the sky as victor. *N.* passes on in peace, he navigates in the boat of Rā. The attributes (5) of *N.* are the attributes of the boat of Rā. *N.* has a name greater than yours, mightier than you who are on the roads of Maāt. *N.* hates what is corrupt. The attributes of *N.* are the attributes of Horus, the firstborn of Rā, who accomplishes his will. *N.* is not fettered, he is not driven away from the gates of Osiris. *N.* is perfect, the lion god, the pure one who follows Osiris Khent Amenta every day. His domains are in Sechet hotepu among those who know the sacred rites, among those who perform the sacred rites to Osiris. *N.* is on the side of Thoth, among those who bring offerings. Anubis ordered to the bearers of offerings, that there should be offerings to *N.* of his own, and that they should not be taken from him by those who are in captivity. *N.* has come like Horus, when he adorns the horizon of heaven. *N.* directs the march of Rā towards the gates of the horizon; therefore the gods rejoice in the presence of *N.* The divine scent (6) is upon Osiris, the god with the lock (7) will not reach him; the keepers of the gates will not be hostile to him. *N.* is the one whose face is hidden inside the palace, in the sanctuary of the god, the lord of Tuat. *N.* has reached it after Hathor. *N.* gathers his hosts; he brings Maāt to Rā, he drives away the Mighty One, Apepi. *N.* pierces the steel firmament (8), and repels the raging storm; he gives life to the seamen of Rā. *N.* carries offerings to the place where it (the boat) is. *N.* causes that the boat gives him a successful voyage. *N.* marches, and when he

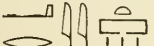
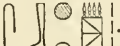
reaches it, the face of *N.* is like the Great One, and his back like the lofty one. *N.* is the lord of the mighty. *N.* is well pleased on the horizon. *N.* is valiant; he strikes you down; you wakers; he makes his way to your lord, Osiris.

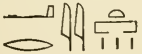
This is on the copy which is in the books (9). It is written in yellow ink, on the sacred circle of gods in the boat of *Rā* (10), where offerings are made of victuals, geese, incense, in their presence, in order to revive the deceased, to make him powerful among the gods, and that he may not be repulsed nor driven back from the pylons of the *Tuat*. If thou readest it to the statue of this deceased in their presence, it causes him to have access to every hall of those which are in the books.

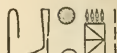
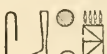
This is said at the entrance of every gate, of those which are in the books, and to each of them an offering is made of the haunch, the head, the heart, and the hoof of a red bull, and four vases of blood which does not come from the heart, and scent vases, and sixteen pointed white loaves, and eight round loaves, and eight *chenfu* loaves, and eight *hebennu* loaves, eight casks of beer, eight vases of dry corn, four tanks of earthenware filled with the milk of a white cow, fresh herbs, fresh olive oil, green eye paint, antimony, odoriferous oils, and burning incense. Said while putting on a clay seal twice.

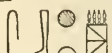
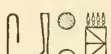
After this copy has been read, if the fourth hour is going round in the day, beware of what is threatening in the sky; but if thou hast read this book without any human being seeing it, it will widen the steps of the deceased in heaven or earth, and in the *Tuat*; because this book exalts the deceased more than any ceremony performed to him, henceforth, from this day undeviatingly for times infinite.

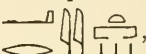
NOTES.

This chapter is the first of a series of four (144—147), in which the old versions differ considerably from the Turin text. 144 and 147 refer to the , 145 and 146 to the .

The word  has been translated in various ways. Brugsch calls them "watch-towers, pylons," Pierret "stations." Maspero considers them as the old "ergastules," a kind of vaulted hall. Jéquier speaks of them as "magazines," but generally

translates the word by "pylons." Renouf, in his introduction to the Papyrus of Ani, calls the  "gates," and the  "pylons." In another place he says the  is not a mere gate, but a *hold* or *keep*.

If we refer to the old texts where this chapter is mixed together with chapter 146, we see that the  is a door, a gate, which has to be passed in order to reach the . Behind each  a  is represented as a shrine close to which is its god. And also in the book called    , the *book of what is in the Tuat*, we see that Rā has to go through the  and make a long navigation before he reaches the gods of the Tuat.

144 and 147 are two different versions of the same chapter, and no old papyrus has them both. It is the same with chapters 145 and 146. Evidently before the Saitic period, for these chapters, as for the 15th, there was no received text, and the writers had the choice between various versions which the compilers of the Turin text collected together. There are seven , and the deceased who approaches them has to know three names; first, the  whom Renouf calls *the porter*, evidently from his being styled in chapter 147 . But if we consider that in some of the old papyri the name of the man is that of the gate itself,  has to be translated *he who belongs to*, the occupant, the inhabitant, a sense which does not disagree with the word  since, according to Oriental customs, the master of a house is generally met with at the door, at the entrance.

The *doorkeeper*, the *watcher* (Budge), or the *warder* (Renouf), is the second person,        *he who guards the gate*. The third person     , as the text says,

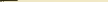
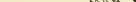
reports to Osiris every day the things of the world, and I suppose also, who is coming towards the gate. Renouf calls this person *the teller*. I shall use the word *herald*, which I adopted previously.

In the six old texts which I collated, we find only the reciting of the three names. The Papyrus of Nu in the British Museum alone contains the allocution to the gates of the Turin text. It is therefore from the Papyrus of Nu that this chapter has been translated. (Budge, *The Book of the Dead*.)

1. The title is taken from Papyrus *Ax*. The Turin text calls this chapter "*the chapter of knowing the occupants of the seven gates.*"

2. A flame, judging from the determinative .

3. as we read in chapter 147.

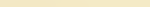
4.  *N.*  | lit. "receives the saying."

I suppose it means receives the right or the privilege to say the words which follow: "I am one of them."

5.    a word which has various meanings. Renouf

translates: "protection, safeguard, powers, attributes." I believe in many cases it corresponds to what we call "the nature," and that it is used as a periphrase instead of an abstract adjective, which does not exist in Egyptian. The real sense of such an expression

seems to be
'such as he is, such am I, and such is Rā.'

6. I read with the Turin text . The papyrus *Pb*, which reproduces this sentence in an addition to 136A writes .

7. . 'The god of the lock, or the curling god,'

another name for   Apepi, an evil power which must be driven away. Chapter 130, line 39, I should translate: 'Osiris follows the path of Rā in the morning, and drives away the curling god.'

8. 'The steel firmament,'   , generally mentioned in connection with storms and bad weather, so that possibly we have

to consider here the colour of the metal, and translate 'the dark sky, the black sky.'

9. The books of Thoth, the divine writer.

10. Probably the name of the book or of the page which contains also the catalogue of the offerings.

The vignettes of chapter 144 represent the gates, the warder, and the herald; the occupant is not seen, as he is in the vignettes of chapter 147. There seems to be no definite order or rule in these figures, just as in the names, which are not always attributed to the same member (*cf.* *Introd. to the Todtenbuch*, p. 172).

CHAPTERS CXLV AND CXLVI.

The knowing of the pylons of the house of Osiris, in the Garden of Aarru.

The first pylon (1) (is named): the lady of trembling whose walls are high, the lady of destruction, who directs the words which drive away the storm, she who forces back the violent (2) coming towards her. The name of the doorkeeper is: the brave.

The second pylon (is named): the lady of heaven, mistress of the world, the consuming one, the lady of mankind, who counts the human beings. The name of the doorkeeper is: Meshept.

The third pylon: the lady of altars, rich in offerings, with whom all the gods are gathered, on the day when they sail to Abydos. The name of the doorkeeper is: the anointer.

The fourth pylon: she who holds the knives, the mistress of the world, who destroys the enemies of the god whose heart is motionless, who gives advice, who is free from impurity. The name of the doorkeeper is: the bull.

The fifth pylon: the flame, the lady of the words of power (3), who gives joy to him who addresses his supplications to her, to whom no one who is on earth (4) will come near. The name of the doorkeeper is: he who coerces the rebels.

The sixth pylon: the lady of light, who roars loud; whose length and breadth are not known, and the like of whom never was found from the beginning. There are serpents on her, the number of which is not known; they were born before the god whose heart is motionless. The name of the doorkeeper is, the consort.

The seventh pylon: the shroud which enwrappeth the dead; the

monster who seeks to hide the body. The name of the doorkeeper is : *Akesti*.

The eighth pylon : the burning flame whose fire is never quenched ; she who is provided with burning heat, who sends forth her hand, and slaughters without mercy. Nobody goes near her for fear of being hurt. The name of the doorkeeper is : he who protects his body.

The ninth pylon : the foremost, the Mighty One, the joyous who gives birth to her lord ; whose circumference is 350 measures (5) ; she who shines like southern emerald, who raises Besu, and encourages the dead, she who provides her lord with offerings every day.

The tenth pylon : she with a loud voice ; who shouts curses to those who make supplications to her ; the very brave, the dreadful, who does not destroy what is within her. The name of the doorkeeper is : he who embraces the great god.

The eleventh pylon : she who renews her knives, who consumes her enemies, the mistress of all pylons, to whom acclamations are given in the daytime and in the twilight. She will prepare the enwrapping of the dead.

The twelfth pylon : she who addresses her world and destroys those who come through the morning heat, the lady of brightness, who listens to the words of her lord every day. She will prepare the enwrapping of the dead.

The thirteenth pylon : Isis extends her two hands upon her ; she lightens the Nile in its hidden abode. She will prepare the enwrapping of the dead.

The fourteenth pylon : the lady of fear, who dances on the impure, to whom the *Haker* festival is celebrated on the day of the hearing of yells. She will prepare the enwrapping of the dead.

The fifteenth pylon : the evil one, with red hair and eyes, who comes out at night, who binds her enemy all round, who puts her hands over the god whose heart is motionless, in his hour (of danger), who goes and comes. She will prepare the enwrapping of the dead.

The sixteenth pylon : the terrible, the lady of the morning dew, who throws out (6) her burning heat, and sprinkles her sparks of fire over her enemies when she appears. She who creates (reveals?) the mysteries of the earth. She will prepare the enwrapping of the dead.

The seventeenth pylon : she who revels in blood ; Aahit, the lady of the *uauai* plants. She will prepare the enwrapping of the dead.

The eighteenth pylon : she who likes fire, who washes her knives, who loves cutting heads, the welcome one, the lady of the palace, who slays her enemies in the evening. She will prepare the enwrapping of the dead.

The nineteenth pylon : she who directs the morning light in her time, and observes the midday heat, the lady of the books written by Thoth himself. She will prepare the enwrapping of the dead.

The twentieth pylon : she who is within the cavern of her lord, who covers her name, and hides what she creates, who takes possession of hearts, which she swallows. She will prepare the enwrapping of the dead.

The twenty-first pylon : she who cuts the stone by her word, and sacrifices him on whom fall her flames. She follows the hidden counsels.

NOTES.

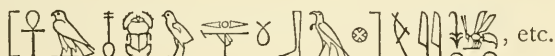
Chapters 145 and 146 are two versions of the same text. They are the chapter of the arrival of the deceased to the  of the house of Osiris. It is difficult to know what these  really are. Renouf translates the word by *pylon*. At the same time he says they are not mere gates, but keeps or holds. I shall use his word pylon ; but the word which seems to me to convey most exactly the meaning is a *cell*, since each of the  has an inhabitant. There are various versions of these chapters. The oldest, No. 146, is found in several papyri, and has been translated from *Lc.* (Leyden), the only one which has the chapter complete. It consists of 21 paragraphs, each of which begins with a sentence giving the names of the pylon. It is followed by that of the , which I translate, with Renouf, the *porter* or *doorkeeper* though I should prefer, he who is within the door, since the vignettes show that the so-called porter or doorkeeper is the god who occupies the cell. There are 21 pylons, out of which the papyri give us a certain number. Brugsch finds in their names those of some of the hours of night or day ; but the

Together with the hieroglyphic text I publish the heading (made by Harris?) just as it stands in M. de Ricci's note-book, and append a few remarks of my own.

"*Coptos*. (23 Dec. 1847.) Copy of a stone built into the bridge built in 1843 over the canal leading to the town."



This inscription, though hitherto unpublished, as I believe, has often been quoted (Wiedemann, *Ag. Gesch*, p. 224; Petrie, *Koptos*, p. 10, "seen by Harris (*My. E.* 447)"). If we assume that Harris, or one of his copyists, has restored in part the first four groups, our inscription *might* form part of that published by Professor Petrie (*Koptos*, pl. VIII, 14), which at any rate shows how the first line is to be restored:—



The king is, of course,  usually called Antef V, He belongs to the XIIIth dynasty, as has been, in my opinion, conclusively shown by Professor Steindorff (*A.* 2, xxxiii (1895), pp. 91-2). The third line, so unfortunately lost, probably gave the name of *another* king. This seems to be shown by the size of the cartouche, and by the position of the ☉, which in the *prenomen* of Antef V is usually *above* the  sign. The first signs of l. 3 should be restored .

A MYTHOLOGICAL TEXT FROM MEMPHIS: A REPLY TO CRITICISM.

BY F. W. READ AND A. C. BRYANT, *B.A.*

A paper by the present writers on an extremely important religious text appeared in the last volume of these *Proceedings*,¹ and an essay on the same text was published shortly afterwards by Dr. Breasted, in the *Zeitschrift*.² In the latter essay, our paper and the accompanying plate are criticised somewhat freely, and we therefore feel called upon to defend our work from Dr. Breasted's attack. The points on which he differs from us may be conveniently classified under three heads: (i) the direction in which the inscription should be read; (ii) the reading of certain hieroglyphs; and (iii) the translation.

I.—*The Direction of the Text.*

Dr. Breasted's criticisms on this subject are by far the most important, as they strike at the very basis of our work. He contends that we have read the inscription from the wrong end, or, as he expresses it, that our "plate numbers the lines backward"; and he finally declares that "the direction in which the lines should be numbered is therefore certain." Before dealing with this question in detail, one point should be insisted on. Our reading from right to left is the normal way of reading an inscription written as ours is; and we therefore start with a presumption in our favour. It is not for us to prove our reading right; it is for Dr. Breasted to prove it wrong. Nevertheless, we claim that in the following pages we have not only rebutted his arguments, but made out our case affirmatively.

1. It is argued from the reading  that lines 9 [56] and 8 [57]³ join; and we are told that "the conclusion is reinforced by the phrase  in the middle of ll. 7 [58] and 9 [56]." Now to begin with this statement is not quite correct. The form quoted occurs in line 9 [56]; but in line 7 [58]

¹ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XXIII, 160.

² *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, XXXIX, 1901, pp. 39-54.

we have , where  may possibly be an ideogram, but is more likely a determinative. But Dr. Breasted has overlooked an important piece of evidence; in line 11 [54] we actually find . The case therefore stands thus. Apart from the particular instance under discussion, the word  occurs three times—once in the form our reading requires; once in the form Dr. Breasted's reading requires; and once in a form different from either.

2. Dr. Breasted next quotes  as showing the connection between lines 8 [57] and 7 [58]. In itself the join is a very good one, but it does not appear any better than that between lines 8 [57] and 9 [56]. An account of the making of "the dexterity of the hands and the walking of the feet" may fitly be followed by the creation of "the sight of the eyes, the hearing of the ears, and the breathing of the nostrils." It may be difficult to explain why the associate gods are introduced at the top of line 9 [56]; but this difficulty is not of much weight in view of the perfect parallelism between the phrases in the two lines, and the very great improbability that the scribe would have separated these naturally allied parts of his discourse by a considerable space.

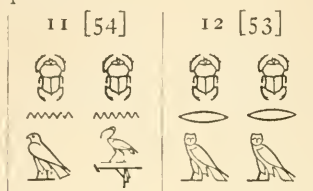
3. Another striking evidence of the correctness of our reading is found in the close parallelism between the end of line 10 [55] and the beginning of line 11 [54]. The passage runs as follows:—

10 [55]	
11 [54]	 

If the latter part of line 10 [55] were expanded into two phrases like the early part of line 11 [54], the parallel would be still more striking.

³ We have endeavoured to diminish the inconvenience which the reader must inevitably suffer from the existence of two methods of numbering the lines of the inscription, by giving both numbers for every line referred to—our own, followed by Dr. Breasted's in square brackets.

4. There is further a parallelism of form (though not of meaning) between the above quoted part of line 11 [54] and the adjacent part of line 12 [53] which appears significant. Here are the hieroglyphs in question:—



The point to be noted is the form . Though the sign occurs frequently in the inscription, these are the only cases in which it takes the complementary

.⁴ It is obvious, therefore, that the scribe adopted this unusual form for the sake of the parallelism with in line 11 [54]. Did he write the abnormal form *by anticipation*, so that it should agree with the normal form *about to appear in the next line*? Or, must we not rather conclude that the normal form came *first* and that the abnormal form was adopted *afterwards*?

5. In line 10 [55] certain words are found arranged as follows:—



Lower down, in the same line, we find



and lower down, again, . It will

be seen that we have first two pairs of words, and that later these pairs are repeated in reverse order (being substituted

for the practically identical). Now, if we turn to lines 7 [58]

and 8 [57] we shall see a similar arrangement. At the bottom of

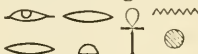
line 7 [58] we have and in line 8 [57]

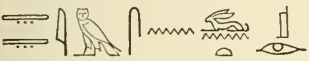
. Here again the two words first written are repeated in reverse order. These facts raise a very strong presumption that line 7 [58] should precede line 8 [57].⁵

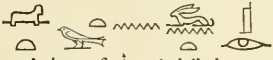
⁴ The in the blundered form (heading of lines 13-16 [48]) is, no doubt, intended for a complementary, but the word is used quite differently from that indicated by in other parts of the inscription.

⁵ The two cases are not absolutely identical, but they are the same in principle. In the first mentioned, the scribe had two pairs to deal with, and he reversed the pairs; in the other case there was only one pair, and he reversed its two members.

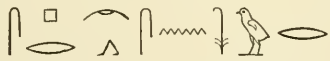
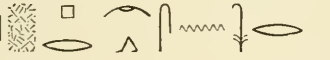
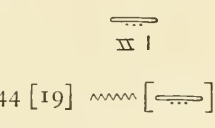
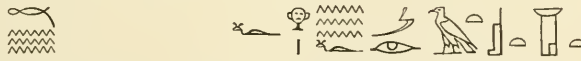
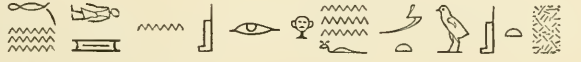
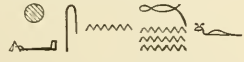
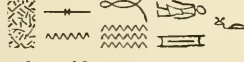
6. What we have said above is a sufficient answer to Dr. Breasted's contention that the connection of lines 7 [58] and 6 [59] is shown by the phrase . But even apart from the strong evidence already produced, the suggested join might very well be rejected on its merits, since it is not likely that the scribe would use  and  so close together.

7. Pursuing the same line of argument, Dr. Breasted says: "at the beginning of line 3 [62] I am not sure of the meaning, but connection with the end of line 4 [61] is clearly possible." According to the proposed arrangement, we must read as follows: 

. We confess we do not see the meaning of this, and Dr. Breasted cannot enlighten us; we are therefore unable to admit that the connection is "clearly possible."

Our reading: , "the great resting-place of (or for) the activity of *Âusâri*," is not only good sense in itself, but fits in with the general tenor of this part of the text as translated by us. (See our former paper, pp. 165, 166; the translation of lines 1-4 [64-61]; and note 10 on the word .)

8. We proceed to consider the inferences that may be drawn from the parallel passages in lines 2, 3 [63, 62] and 43, 44 [20b, 19]. These passages are as follows:—

- (a) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2 [63] \text{  } \\ 43 [20b] \text{  } \end{array} \right. \quad 44 [19] \text{  }$
- (b) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3 [62] \text{  } \\ 44 [19] \text{  } \end{array} \right.$
- (c) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3 [62] \text{  } \\ 44 [19] \text{  } \end{array} \right.$

It is plain that if we are correct in taking  at the top of

line 44 [19] as an error for , the true direction of the reading is established; and we submit that the emendation rests on good grounds. As we have already pointed out in note 25 to our former paper, the mistake supposed is one of the easiest to make, and there is clear evidence that it was sometimes made in the best texts. It will also be noticed that the passage in lines 2, 3 [63, 62] which according to our view is omitted in line 44 [19] is one the absence of which causes no break in the sense; and further that the suppression of this passage, which ends with , supplies a reason for the substitution of  in line 44 [19] for  in line 3 [62]. Finally, it may be noted that the reading  introduces into the passage a word which has no equivalent on the other side of the slab; a word, moreover, which in this context seems to yield no sense.⁶

9. We may appropriately consider in connection with the last section another of Dr. Breasted's arguments. He writes: "Finally, line 3 [62] narrates the drowning of Osiris, while in line 2 [63] Isis and Nephthys pull him ashore (*spr.sn sw r l3*)—a clear sequence of events." Now the "clear sequence of events" is obtained by understanding  in the sense of land as distinguished from water. It is not necessary to labour the point that  ordinarily means the earth or a portion of the earth. Without denying that it may occasionally be used in Dr. Breasted's sense, it is quite safe to say that such cases form an inappreciable fraction of the whole. It is obvious, then, that as Dr. Breasted's translation is necessitated by the order in which he reads the lines, it cannot possibly be evidence for that order. If the lines are read in the normal direction, no difficulty arises in taking  in its usual sense; indeed, it is essential that *Äusäri* should be brought  before he can be

⁶ Goodwin's translation *ducunt cum ad (locum) quo mergeretur Osiris in aquis suis*, shows the difficulty he felt in understanding the passage as written, since he found it necessary to supply *locum*. Dr. Breasted gives no rendering of any of the passages under discussion; but we cannot see that his order of reading the lines makes the difficulty less. That we should be engaged in argument on this point is another evidence of the loss science has suffered by the injuries to the stone. If Dr. Breasted's views are sound, the word  must have existed in the middle of line 42 [top of 21b]—now, alas, destroyed beyond hope of recovery. All Egyptologists must earnestly desire that another copy of the text may some day come to light.

drowned, as can be seen from our translation and the introduction thereto.

10. It will be admitted that the direction in which any piece of writing should be read can be most readily determined when the writing in question consists of a continuous narrative. It fortunately happens that we have on the stone a fairly long and undamaged account of the settlement of the disputed sovereignty between ẖeru and Suti; and we conclude our argument with a critical examination of it. For the convenience of the reader we will first set out the two versions of the story. The following is our translation as given in our former paper:—

“51 [12a]. Sebu said to ẖeru and Suti: ‘There shall be an arbitration between you.’

“52 [11a]. Sebu said to ẖeru: ‘Come from the place where thy father was submerged.’

“53 [10a]. Sebu said to Suti: ‘Come from the place where thou wast born.’ [10b]. A mountain in the midst of the earth joins the portion of ẖeru to the portion of Suti,

“54 [9]. at the division of the earth. Now ẖeru and Suti *each* stood upon a hillock; they made peace, *saying*: ‘The two earths *meet* in Ān, for it is the march of the two earths.’ ‘The two earths *meet* in Ān, for it is the march of the two earths.’

“55 [8]. He protected their treaty. He appointed Suti as SETEN in the southern earth, extending from the place where he was born, *that is*, from Sesesu. Now Sebu [he] appointed ẖeru as NĀT in the northern earth, extending from the place where his father was submerged.

“56 [7]. The gods made offerings to him when he arbitrated between ẖeru and Suti.”

Dr. Breasted’s version runs thus:—

“Atum is his father (l. 57 [6]) ‘to whom the gods offered, when he had judged Horus and Set.’ After settling ‘their litigation, he set up Set as king of Upper Egypt in the Southland, from the place where he was born;’ (*cf.*, line 53 [10a]) and Keb ‘set up Horus as king of Lower Egypt in the Northland, from the place where his father was drowned.’ The dialogue [! !] accompanying these full lines, now follows in the upper portions of the cut lines (53–46 [10a–17a]):

“ ‘Keb (to) Set, speech : “Hasten from the place, wherein thou wast born.” ’ ”

“ ‘Keb (to) Horus, speech : “Hasten from the place, wherein thy father was drowned.” ’ ”

“ ‘Keb (to) Horus and Set, speech : “I will judge you.” ’ ”

“ ‘Keb (to) the ennead, speech : “I have assigned the inheritance to that heir, to the son of the first-born son.” ’ ”

We feel justified in the first place in claiming that the superiority of our rendering of the legend, from the point of view of logical and consistent arrangement, is plainly shown by a mere inspection of the two versions. We proceed, however, to consider the question in detail.

(a) Dr. Breasted adduces the following argument in support of his reading :—

“ Looking in line 55 [8] at the mention of Set before Horus, preceding the mention of the two together in line 54 [9], we see clearly that line 53 [10*a* and 10*b*] headed by Set should precede line 52 [11*a* and 11*b*] headed by Horus, and that both should precede line 51 [12*a*] headed by both together.”

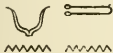
This argument is not without its attractions, but it really raises new difficulties. Reading the lines in what we hold to be the true direction, we see that (1) *Heru* and *Suti* are addressed together; (2) *Heru* is addressed separately; (3) *Suti* is addressed separately. Now, the prime fact to be borne in mind here is that the upper portions of lines 51–53 [12*a*–10*a*]⁸ form together one tableau ( as an Egyptian would say); and it is therefore unreasonable to suppose that we ought to read in such a direction as to make *Suti* precede *Heru* when they are addressed separately, seeing that *Heru* comes first when they are addressed together. In line 54 [9] *Heru* and *Suti* again appear in their usual order. With line 55 [8] we reach an anomaly demanding explanation, since *Suti* is appointed *SETEN* before *Heru* is appointed *NĀT*. We fully discussed this question in our former paper, and arrived at the conclusion that the scribe, seeing that he

⁷ The two accounts cover substantially the same ground, except that the second omits all mention of the solemn compact between *Heru* and *Suti* (line 54 [9]).

⁸ The splitting up of lines like these into *a* and *b* is a convenient arrangement, but surely the characters enclosed by horizontal lines belong to the upper and not to the lower parts of their respective lines.

could not avoid one of two anomalies, preferred to sacrifice the traditional order of *Ḥeru* and *Suti*, rather than that of *SETEN NĀT*. It is plain, then, the circumstances being totally different, that we are not justified in reasoning from lines 55, 54 [8, 9] to lines 53-51 [10a-12a].

(b) Dr. Breasted's version destroys the unity of the story by dividing the functions of arbitrator between *Tmu* and *Sebu* in the most confusing way. In our account *Sebu* summons the combatants, *Sebu* (presumably) presides over the negotiations and the utterance of the identical form of words by which the boundary is fixed, *Sebu* appoints the two gods to their respective kingdoms, and *Sebu* finally receives offerings from the assembled gods. In Dr. Breasted's account, it is *Tmu* to whom the offerings are presented, *Tmu* who settles the dispute, *Tmu* who appoints *Suti* as *SETEN*, but *Sebu* (or *Keb*) who appoints *Ḥeru* as *NĀT*, and *Sebu* who calls the gods before him. It is surely absurd to say that *Tmu* settled their litigation, when it is admitted that *Sebu* appointed *Ḥeru* to his kingdom. Again, when we read that "Sebu said to *Ḥeru* and

Suti:  'There shall be an arbitration between you'; and that "the gods made offerings to him  when he arbitrated between⁹ *Ḥeru* and *Suti*," it is very difficult to believe that two different gods are referred to.

(c) Closely connected with the foregoing is the mode of describing the territories of the two gods. As we read the text, they are summoned from the extreme north and the extreme south to a central meeting place; they then agree to fix their common boundary at this spot, *i.e.*, the nome *Ān*, the implication being that the rule of each extends over the territory through which each has passed. *Sebu* proceeds to fix the same boundaries in another way, *i.e.*, by means of the extreme southern and northern limits, these being indicated by *the same words as he has already used in summoning the gods*, the implication here being that both kingdoms terminate at the central place. All this is perfectly intelligible; but, assuming that the course of events began with the boundary fixing, why should *Sebu* afterwards call the gods from the particular places which happened to be the southern and northern boundaries of their

⁹ We prefer "arbitrate" to "judge," since what *Sebu* did was to bring the parties together and to ratify their agreement.

respective kingdoms, more especially as only one of those boundaries had been fixed by himself?

(*d*) Let us now look, as the final stage in the demonstration, at the difficulties involved in Dr. Breasted's reading, merely from the point of view of the structure of the story. Why should the two gods, after Tmu and Sebu had, between them, fixed the boundaries, proceed to do the same thing on their own account? Litigants do not go through the form of accepting the judgment of the court, but the court often gives official sanction to an agreement between litigants. Further, the two gods and Sebu must have been all present together during these proceedings. Is it conceivable that any writer would make Sebu call the gods immediately afterwards? We have already discussed the order in which and the places from which he called them; but would he call them at all, in any order and from any place? Finally, having called them, would he, in the face of all that is supposed to precede, make the singularly inept remark: "I will judge you"?

As we have said above, a continuous narrative forms the best test of the order of the lines in an inscription; and therefore we have thought it desirable to analyse this story of Heru and Suti somewhat minutely. We feel justified in claiming that the case we have presented would be almost sufficient to establish our reading even *against* the presumption arising from the arrangement of the hieroglyphs. Being adduced, as it is, *in support* of that presumption, it may well be described as conclusive.

II.—*The Text.*

The total number of differences between Dr. Breasted's plate and our own is considerable, and we are glad that he has succeeded in deciphering more than we did in the parts of the stone where reading is most difficult. On re-examination, we are satisfied that the bulk of these additions may be accepted with confidence. Of the remaining variants, the following may be noted:—

1. Dr. Breasted has  after  in line 6 [59] where we have ; and  in line 8 [57] where we have . He may possibly be right, but we cannot feel certain of it.

2. In line 49 [14*c*] Dr. Breasted's  for our  is, of

course, correct. Our form was the result of a slip in copying from the original draft, as is shown by the translation, "his head."

3. We can say, without hesitation, that the substitution of  for our  (line 7 [58]) is certainly wrong. The sign is so placed that the right-hand portion of it (if it had existed) must have approached very closely to (or even touched) the boundary of the column. The general character of the work precludes the supposition that any of the hieroglyphs would be so engraved.

4. Among minor points, we may mention that Dr. Breasted has erroneously given  for  twice at the top of lines 42, 43 [20a, 21a]. The figures determine *Äusäri* and *Heru*, not *Nebithäit*. The word   (line 13 [25a]) is written with  as shown by Sharpe and ourselves. It is also so written in the phrase at the bottom of line 12 [53] first copied by Dr. Breasted.

III.—*The Translation.*

In the main, and so far as it goes, Dr. Breasted's translation agrees with our own. Most of the differences that exist are due to variant readings and to the opposed views of Dr. Breasted and ourselves as to the order of the lines. Two words only appear to call for special notice.

1. The rendering "proclaim" for   (lines 10, 50, 60 [55, 13a, 3]) is certainly right.

2. The translation "phallus" for  (line 10 [55]) is quite as certainly wrong. That the word is found in the sense of "joints" is, we presume, not disputed; the only possible difference of opinion is as to whether that meaning is appropriate here. That it is so will appear from the following considerations. A reference to the plate or to the text as printed above (I. 5) shows that we have four words arranged, two and two, in parallel columns. Other cases of parallelism in the text prove that such an arrangement indicates close likeness or connection or a striking antithesis. It is plain from the first pair, "teeth and lips," that we are concerned here with closely connected parts of the body. The translation "joints and hands," satisfies this condition; but there is no connection of

the like nature between phallus and hands.¹⁰ The variants in the lower part of the line strongly support this contention. The word "fingers" is substituted for "hands," thus preserving the parallelism while changing the phraseology. But the form  (with the determinative of plurality) is conclusive, since it is clearly inconsistent with the rendering "phallus," but quite natural if the meaning is "joints."

THE SO-CALLED *QUINTA* OF 4 KINGS.

BY F. C. BURKITT.

It may be of some interest, now that my friend Sir H. Howorth is discussing Origen's *Hexapla* in these columns, to point out what a peculiar interest the so-called *Quinta* of 4 Kings has to students of the text of the Bible. The *Quinta* of 4 Kings is not a continuous text, but a collection of readings found in the margin of the Syro-Hexaplar translation of the Greek Bible. They are marked by the letter , the 5th letter of the Syriac alphabet. The main object of this note is to point out the support given by one of these scattered variants to a famous conjecture of Wellhausen's.

In 4 Kings (2 Kings *Heb.*) xix 26, 27, the oracle of Jehovah says to the king of Assyria:—

26. "Therefore their inhabitants were of small power, they were dismayed and confounded; they were as the grass of the field, and as the green herb, as the grass on the housetops, and as corn blasted before it be grown up. 27. But I know thy sitting down, and thy going out, and thy coming in, and thy raging against me."

¹⁰ That there was a mythological connection of a kind (as Dr. Breasted points out) is well known, but we cannot think it is alluded to here. The mode writing suggests that we have to do with two *similar* pairs, and two such pairs our translation provides. As for the mythology of the passage, we have already quoted a parallel from the *Book of the Dead* (L. T. 17, 4).

The last words of the 26th verse and the beginning of the 27th are, in the Massoretic text :

חציר גגות וְשִׁדְפָה לְפָנַי קָמָה : וּשְׁבַתְךָ וּצִאתְךָ וּבֹאֲךָ יִרְעֵתִי

Now it is evident that something is wrong here. "Corn blasted before it be grown up" has indeed a fine rhetorical sound, but it is not a literal rendering of the Hebrew. שִׁדְפָה לְפָנַי קָמָה is literally "a blight before standing-corn," the sense of which is not obvious. And even in the English version the beginning of verse 27 is incurably defective. Moreover, the 'but' with which it begins is 'and' in the original, yet the oracle changes from historical argument to direct address.

The parallel passage, Isaiah xxxvii 27, 28, gives us no help. Instead of a 'blight' we find a 'field,' but the second verse is as defective as the corresponding verse in Kings. The versions also simply support the Massoretic text, with the exception of the LXX of Isaiah, which omits קָמָה לְפָנַי, and of the *Quinta* in Kings, which will be given below. Wellhausen in his edition of Bleek's *Einleitung in d. Alte Testament* (4th ed., p. 257, note) proposed to end 2 Kings xix, 26, at וְשִׁדְפָה, and instead of לְפָנַי קָמָה to read לְפָנַי קָמָה i.e., *Before Me is thy rising up*. The passage then runs:—

"Therefore their inhabitants were grass on the housetops and a blight. Before Me is thy rising up and thy sitting down, and thy going out and thy coming in I know, yea and thy rage against Me."

This emendation, which restores rhythm and sense to the passage, has been generally approved. What I want here to point out is that it is not without external attestation. In fact, if my view of the evidence be taken, the consonantal text, as amended by Wellhausen (קָמָה instead of קָמָד), is attested by the original Septuagint.

The note in the Syro-Hexaplar margin at this point is . מ .

ⲙⲓⲙⲟⲛⲁ ⲙⲟⲕ ⲙⲟⲕⲁⲗⲁ ⲙⲟⲕⲁⲗⲁ. According to Dr. Field, and

no one had more skill in retranslating the crabbed Syriac of this version into the underlying Greek, this corresponds to "5. καὶ ἐμπυρισμὸς ἀπέναντι ἀναστρέψεώς σου." The corresponding Hebrew would be וְשִׁדְפָה לְפָנַי קָמָה. But לְפָנַי קָמָד is the actual consonantal text of Wellhausen's emendation, though it was left to the great critic to restore the balance of the sentence by ending

the verse at **ושרפה** and reading the following word (now the first word of verse 27) as **לִפְנֵי**.¹

This is not the only instance where the readings of the so-called *Quinta* preserve a valuable emendation of the Massoretic text. In 4 Kings xxiii 4, the *Quinta* supports the non-Massoretic variant **בשרפות קדרון**; and in xxiii 8, it reads **שער הָרְגִים** for **שער העיר**, a corrupt reading partly attested by the Lucianic text, which easily leads to the emendation **שער הַרְגִים**, *i.e.*, the *Fish Gate*, mentioned in the parallel passage Zeph. i 10.

These examples shew that, whatever else the *Quinta* of 4 Kings may be, it certainly contains an element ultimately derived from a pre-Massoretic Hebrew text. For it sometimes preserves the true readings, or approximations to the true readings, in places where all other extant authorities (including the ordinary texts of the LXX) have gone astray. But the interesting readings are comparatively few in number. As a rule we find the *Quinta* cited in company with Aquila or Symmachus or Theodotion, or all three, as one of the supporting authorities for words supplied under asterisk to the Hexaplar text. Thus in 4 Kings xiii 1, we read "Jehoahaz the son of Jehu began to reign **Aq. and 5.* over Israel' in Samaria." That is to say, the Septuagint omitted "over Israel," but the words have been inserted in the Hexaplar text from Aquila and the *Quinta*.

What, then, is the *Quinta* to 4 Kings? No external evidence tells us of any Fifth Greek Version of that book, no Greek writer quotes extracts from such a version. All we know of it is a collection of detached readings in the Syro-Hexaplar translation of Origen's (or Eusebius's) revised text of the LXX. But the fragments of the Hexapla in the Ambrosian Library at Milan preserve just such a collection of detached readings in a *fifth column*. The exact principles upon which this collection of readings was made is not clear, nor the purpose which they were meant to serve; the extant fragments would suggest that they are LXX readings, exhibited in the form of variants to Theodotion. I venture, therefore, to make the conjecture that the *Quinta* in 4 Kings is such a collection of variants set in the margin of the *Hexapla*, and that this collec-

¹ Ἐμπυρισμός certainly points to **שרפה** 'burning,' but **שרפה** 'blight' (*i.e.*, 'a blighted patch') is obviously right. 'Blight' (the *disease*) is **שרבון**, but what is wanted here is a word for the *diseased vegetation*.

tion contained, amongst other things, some notable readings of the genuine LXX. These readings, if my conjecture be right, were inserted in the margin because Origen had rejected them in favour of the corresponding renderings of Aquila or Theodotion, and their admission to the extreme right-hand margin of the *Hexapla* was the intermediate stage between their presence in the text and final banishment.

In the case of the *Quinta* reading in 4 Kings xix 26, 27, we can easily see the reason for its rejection. To us ἐμπυρισμός is interesting because it is clearly the rendering of a Hebrew variant: it proves the *Quinta* at this point to be really based on an independent Hebrew text. And ἀπέναντι ἀναστάσεώς σου gives us the consonants, though not the punctuation, of Wellhausen's emendation. But what was the third century Christian to make of ἐγένοντο χόρτος ἀγροῦ ἢ χλωρὰ βοτάνη, χλόη δωμαίων καὶ ἐμπυρισμός, ἀπέναντι ἀναστάσεώς σου καὶ τὴν καθέδραν σου? The revised text has in place of what I have underlined πάτημα ἀπέναντί ἐστηκότος, and καὶ τὴν καθέδραν σου is relegated to the 27th verse, as in the Massoretic text. From this it is just possible to extract a more or less intelligible sense: "They became . . . green herb of the house-tops, and what is trampled upon in front of one standing up." But it is difficult to see why πάτημα was chosen to render the rare word שָׁדֶפֶה. Most likely it was a mere guess, derived from the context. It is probable that Origen made the change, putting the genuine LXX into the margin; the change was only too successful, and the genuine reading of the LXX in this passage, a reading which supports the consonants of the true text of the original Hebrew, has almost entirely disappeared. Origen served his generation well, but the business of the Biblical critic of to-day is to get behind him into the tangled region of the old Κοινή.

MATÉRIAUX POUR L'ÉTUDE DE LA RELIGION ASSYRO-BABYLONIENNE.

By ALFRED BOISSIER.

§ 1. *Le rituel de Nippour concernant les éclipses.*—Bezold a publié il y a quelques années¹ un document intéressant, où sont indiquées, quelques cérémonies expiatoires, dont le but était d'atténuer les mauvaises influences dues aux éclipses de lune. Le texte a été publié une seconde fois dans les *Cuneif. Texts*, Part IV; la copie de Bezold a été faite avec beaucoup de soin et a servi de base à ce travail; un certain nombre d'indications précieuses sur les vieux rites de Nippour nous ont été conservées dans ce texte curieux.² Comme l'on pouvait s'y attendre le dieu patron de la ville, Bêl y est mentionné et associé à Anou, qui y avait sans doute une chapelle, voire même un temple; les Américains nous renseigneront sur ce dernier point.

TRADUCTION. (Bu. 88, 5-12, 11.)

1. *Si dans le mois de Nisan les XII^e, XIII^e, ou XIV^e jours*
2. *une éclipse de lune a lieu, le roi ne pourra détourner ce malheur*
3. *Au jour où l'éclipse de la lune a eu lieu, tu suspendras à*
4. *la porte un vêtement de laine, tu placeras à la droite de la porte*
d'Anou la plante des montagnes
5. *tu répandras du vin fermenté, tu ne te prosterner pas, un*
brasier de RIG. GIG à gauche de la porte
6. *de Bêl tu placeras, du vin tu répandras, tu ne te prosterner pas*
7. *le roi dès que (après que) l'éclipse aura été vue, se prosternera*
vers le nord?, du sang³ de namtaru

¹ *Z.A.*, III, p. 243.

² J'ai néanmoins utilisé l'excellente copie de l'inch.

³ C.-à.-d. une résine de n. Si le dernier signe est *lu*, il faut naturellement traduire : du sang d'oiseau *namtar*.

8. avec de l'huile de cyprès tu mêleras, il s'étendra ⁴ sur la couche, le malheur sera détourné
9. Si dans le mois d'Ijâr idem (c.-à.-d. une éclipse de lune a lieu), avec de l'essence de genièvre il se lavera (le roi), il s'oindra de myrrhe
10. il fera signe au prêtre,⁵ le prêtre s'approchera alors du roi, le malheur sera écarté.
11. Si dans le mois de Sivan idem, son fils (c.-à.-d. le fils du roi) ? avec son conseiller ne discutera pas.
12. devant Sin il répandra de la fleur de farine, dans la consternation (il sera), il ne parlera pas bruyamment
13. vers Ninib,⁶ qu'il se tienne, la bouche close l'esprit réfléchi il sera, il deviendra vieux
14. Si dans le mois de Dûzu idem, pendant deux jours dans la maison fermée il restera, une offrande de meħru
15. il présentera, dans (avec) la coupe ? il ? , des dattes, un régime
16. il ouvrira (il détachera), sur la berge du fleuve avec du ? il mêlera, du vin il boira, alors Sin le regardera avec faveur
17. Si dans le mois de Abu idem, il doit se coucher sur le bord de la porte, se laver avec de l'eau de citerne
18. se revêtir d'un vêtement de lin, dans un lieu secret une parole il prononcera
19. un cadeau il offrira, devant une vieille femme, il (le) mettra
20. il sera (le roi) vaillant, n'aura pas d'adversaire
21. Si dans le mois de Elul idem et que l'étoile a de la Vierge, est visible il mangera du lait, il s'oindra de beurre, (alors) il sera élevé
22. Si dans le mois de Tešrit idem, qu'il vaque à ses affaires, qu'un anneau portant
23. une monture de pierres précieuses il enfile à son petit doigt
24. qu'à l'ombre d'un cèdre⁷ il se tienne, qu'il se lave avec de l'huile de cyprès, que de la chair de bœuf
25. et de la chair d'oiseau il ne mange pas, bon signe (c.-à.-d., tout ira à souhait)

⁴ Il touchera le lit.⁵ Lagâru.⁶ Ninib avait aussi un temple à Nippour.⁷ L'on sait, que pendant les éclipses de soleil, l'ombrage des arbres présente une particularité ; les parties du sol éclairées, par les rayons, qui passent dans les interstices des feuilles sont elliptiques. Mais il s'agit ici d'une éclipse de lune.

26. *Si dans le mois d'Arahšamna idem, il ne fera pas briller sa face, à Marduk et à Nérgal*
27. *une victime il immolera, aux quatre points cardinaux il présentera*
28. *tout le jour il fera entendre la complainte, alors les jours de ses années (du roi)*
29. *seront de longue durée : doux regard de la divinité*
30. *Si dans le mois de Kislev idem, depuis ? (pendant) la rentrée des troupeaux⁸ jusqu'à la sortie des troupeaux il fera une libation*
31. *il immolera une victime, avec du sang de ? il aspergera le linteau de la porte*
32. *de la myrrhe toute la nuit vers la porte nord, tu brûleras*
33. *devant les étoiles du UD.KA.GAB.A et du scorpion il se prosternera, la vie (du roi) sera augmentée (prolongée).*

VERSO.

1. [*Si dans le mois de Tebit*] *idem, ? ? ? de la main du boulanger*
2. *la déesse Istar le regardera favorablement.*
3. [*Si dans le mois de*] Šabat *idem, il (le roi) ne boira pas d'eau, du lait, de la viande il ne mangera pas*
4. *ses mains il ne couvrira⁹ pas, dans le château il entrera*
5. *il sortira du château il se prosternera vers la région III,¹⁰ le tamarix il ?*
6. *dans du ? de asnû, du miris šabâti il ? , de l'huile de ḫalšu il mangera*
7. *du ? de froment avec de la chair de KA.BIL il mangera, il boira du vin*
8. *le roi vaincra ses adversaires, faveur du dieu et de la déesse*
9. *récolte prospère, le froment surabondera*
10. *Si dans le mois de Adar idem, il mangera du ḫarinu, un récipient de ? un récipient de ?*
11. *avec son ? il ne parlera pas, du tamarix il ? de la plante ? de la plante ?*

⁸ Ancienne tournure de phrase babylonienne.

⁹ Il ne fermera pas.

¹⁰ Vers trois des points cardinaux.

12. de l'huile il s'oindra, de la plante ? de l'or
 13. jusqu'à sept fois il ? fera l'enchantement ?? du luqi ?? de la
 plante du jardin il mangera (qu'il mange)
 14. l'assinnu touchera la tête du roi, il vaincra ses adversaires
 15. son pays sera habité à son commandement.
-
16. exemplaire de Nippour, rédigé conformément à son original et
 écrit très lisiblement.

TRANSCRIPTION

1. Šumma ina araḥ Nisanni lu úmu 12 kan, lu úmu 13 kan lu
 úmu 14 kan
2. atalû ilu Sin iškun(-un) limnu šu-a-tu šarru lâ unakkar
3. ûm atalû ilu Sin šak-nu-um šubâta nabâsa
4. bâba tal-lal niknakka šammu KUR. KUR ina imni bâbi ilu
 A-nu-um ta-ša-kan
5. karân mazâ tanaqqi(-qi) ul tuš-kin niknakka RIG. GIG ina
 šumêli bâbi
6. Bêl ta-šak-kan karâna tanaqqi(-qi) ul tuš-kin
7. šarru ištu atalû ut-ta-me-ru ana IM. I uš-kin dâma NAM.
 TAR. RI
8. itti šaman išu šurmêni tuballal, irša tulappat limnu ippaṭar(-ár)
9. Šumma ina araḥ Ari *idem*^{ma} mê ŠIM. LI irammuk šaman
 riqqi marri ipaššaš(-aš)
10. amêl LAT. GAR. RA¹¹ iqâl-ma amêl LAT. GAR. RA a-na
 šarri i-kar-rab limnu ippaṭar(-ár)
11. Šumma ina araḥ Simâni *idem*^{ma} apil-šu AŠ-ma itti mamli-šu
 la idabab
12. qêma atra ana Sin inaqqi(-qi) šu-ḥar-ri-ir šal-ṭiš ul i-ta-me
13. a-na ilu Nin-ib li-šab pi šab-tu maš-šir lib-bu ibašši(-ši) ul-
 tab-bar
14. Šum-ma ina araḥ Dûzi *idem*^{ma} II ûmê(-me) ina bitî mesirri
 uššab ni-qu-ú me-iḥ-ri
15. li-šam-ḥir ina gam-li li-ta-lil-ma  suluppa pikurta
16. li-pa-šir ina kišâdi nâri ina KIR. RUD dâma uballal karâna
 išatti ilu Sin ana damiḫti ippalassu(-su)
17. Šumma ina araḥ Abi *idem*^{ma} ina ku-tal iṣ dalti li-na-al mû bûri
 irammuk
18. lubušta kita raksa iltabbaš ina a-šar pu-uz-ri a-mat liš-kin

¹¹ lagâru.

19. qišta liš-riq pân šibtî lis-si-ik
20. rabû ibašši-(ši) ; gab-ri lâ ibašši-(ši)
21. Šumma ina araḥ Ululî *idem*^{ma} kakkab ŠU . PA innamir-ma
šizba ikkal, ḥimêta ipaššaš u-ta-da-al
22. Šumma ina araḥ Tašritî *idem*^{ma} ip-še-tu-šu li-piṣ NU . NU
BA . RU . UN . DI
23. itti šu-qur aban nisiqti ina ubâni-šu šihri irakkas
24. ina šilli ER . IZ¹² uššab šaman iṣ šurnêni ipaššaš šer alpi
25. šer iṣṣûri lâ ikkal damqu
26. Šumma ina araḥ Araḥšamna *idem*^{ma} pûta lâ ubbab a-na
Marduk u Nêrgal
27. niqâ inaqqi(-qi) dâma ana šârê irbitti li-šam-ḥir
28. kal û-mi ni-gu-tú liš-kin šarru û-mê šanâtê-šu
29. arkûtê naplusu i-li
30. Šumma ina araḥ Kisilimi *idem*^{ma} ina ereb bu-lim a-na pân
bu-lim mû inaqqi(-qi)
31. niqâ inaqqi(-qi) dâma niksi-(si) KI . BI . ḤAT bâbi is-sal-laḥ
32. ? marra kâl muši ina bâb šâri I ta-ša-rap
33. kakkab UD . KA . GAB . A kakkab aqrâbi uš-kin
balâtu utaššap.

VERSO

1. [Šumma ina araḥ Tebiṭi] *idem*^{ma} sal ŠA . TU¹³ tar-ša adi ? ina
qât amêl nuḥatimmi
2. lim-ḥar ilu Ištar ana damiqtim(-tim) ippa-
lassu-(su)
3. [Šumma ina araḥ] Šabaṭi *idem*^{ma} mê lâ išatti šizba šera lâ
ikkal
4. qâtê-šu la i-ka-tam ina bît du-ri li-rib
5. [ištu] bît du-ri li-ša-a ana šar III liš-kin iṣ bîna ina mû
6. ina iṣ MA ša AŠ . A . AN me-ri-iṣ ṭâbtu ir ?-rim ? šamna ḥal-ša
li-kul
7. ? šê-am itti šer KA . BIL ikkal-ma karâna išatti
8. šarru a-a-bi-šu ina-a-ra salîmu(-mu) ili u ilti
9. šutešur êburi na-ḥa-aš ilu Nisaba
10. Šumma ina araḥ Addari *idem*^{ma} ḥa-ri-nu ikkal karpāt e-bar ?-ti
karpāt e-kit-ti¹³
11. ašar . . . -šu ul i-ta-me iṣ bîna ina Ú . KIL Ú . EL

¹² 𒌦𒌦 ?

¹³ Le texte n'est pas clair.

12. Ú IR. IZ¹⁴ ipaššaš Ú ŠA, IR ? ša ħurāši
 13. adi VII-šu i ?-kaš-ša-ap lu-qī šamnu SAR ki-ri-i li-kul
 14. qaqqadu-(du) šarri assinnu ilapput-(ut) a-a-bi-šu ikaššad(-ád)
 15. mât-su ina qibiti-šu ittašab(-ab)
 16. gab-ri EN . LIL . ki kima labiri-šu šaṭir-ma ba-rim.

REMARQUES

RECTO.—L. 2, *atalû Sin*, expression qui indique une éclipse, prévue, calculée d'avance, comme l'a bien vu Kugler, *Z.A.* XV, p. 181 ; l. 7, *ana šâru I*, peut se traduire vers un point cardinal, mais le sens est probablement : vers le point nord (*ištânu*) ; l. 10, LAT . GAR . RA, n'est autre, que le nom d'un prêtre, le *lagaru*, voir Del., *H.W.* ; cf. aussi K 9876, catal. de Bezold, p. 1046 ; ŠI . LAL signifie faire signe à quelqu'un en jouant de la prune, attirer l'attention de quelqu'un ; l. 11, PIŠ . GAL = *mamlu*, voir Del., *H.W.*, mais tous les sens ne sont pas indiqués ; *meḥri* se trouve aussi IV, R 56 l. 52B, où il est fait mention d'huile de m. qui est une essence forestière ; voir aussi, K 2018a + Sm. 477, catal., p. 387 ; l. 15, *gamlu*, pour ce mot voir Zimmern, *B. Religion, Ritual T.* ; l'assyrien paraît avoir eu deux termes *gamlu* avec deux significations différentes, dont l'une, celle de "réceptacle" a été proposée par Zimmern, l'autre se rapporte à une "arme" quelconque ; l'étoile *gamlu* ? V R 46, 3a (*gam* est pour *gamlu*), est à rapprocher de l'étoile *mulmulla*, l. 26, d'où il ressort que *gamlu* désigne bien une arme. Il correspond à *gimel* (ג), et l'explication donnée par Lidzbarski dans son *Ephemeris*, p. 132, est la seule bonne ; *gimel* est donc plutôt *gamlu* que גרר ; l. 19, *Sal ŠU . GI* désigne une vieille femme, peut-être aussi une vieille sorcière ; *lissik* de *nasâku*, Del., *H.W.* ; l. 21, ŠU . PA est l'étoile α de la vierge, comme l'a démontré Hommel ; *utadal* vient d'un verbe אדל, forme II₂, comme *utasar*, Del., *Grammat*, p. 288 ; *adâlu* doit signifier "être fort, vigoureux" ; l'adjectif *adallu*, fort, en dérive, Del., *H.W.*, p. 25 ; l. 22, *nunu* doit signifier : anneau ; un anneau de cuivre est cité II R, VII, 27 ; V R, 39, 31 ; l. 24, je ne vois guère comment l'on pourrait traduire autrement que je ne l'ai fait ; ER . IZ cache peut-être le nom du cèdre, hébreu אֲרֵז ; l. 29, א- ou א- א= long ; dans les omina, il est opposé à א ou א א= court ; l. 31, il n'est pas nécessaire de rappeler ici les passages bibliques qui mentionnent le sang répandu sur les

¹⁴ אֲרֵז ?

linteaux et les poteaux des portes ; le terme    désignerait il le מִשְׁכָּבִי hëbreu; l. 33, le *kakkab*     se trouve déjà cité ailleurs en compagnie du scorpion (voir Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 48); c'est un animal féroce quelconque, représenté sur les *kudur-rus*; les identifications proposées sont problématiques. C'était une étoile très importante, mentionnée sur l'astrolabe (?) Sm. 162, comme visible dans le mois de *Kislev* en compagnie du scorpion (visible dans le mois de *Arahsamnu*). Quelques autres passages seront cités dans la seconde partie de ce mémoire.

VERSO.—L. 6,   dans les documents publiés par Zimmern, B.R., Tom. II, suit toujours *suluppu* et précède *irqu* ou *še irqu*. Dans un omen tiré de l'apparence de certains arbres (K 2882) on lit le § suivant :—

Si un *hanibu* est triste (*adir*),¹⁵ la déesse *Ningizzida*¹⁶ enverra la fièvre dans le pays.

Si un   est triste (*adir*), il y aura insurrection dans le pays.

Si un   est triste (*adir*), il y aura insurrection dans le pays.

Si un tamarix (*bînu*) est triste (*adir*), l'intérieur du pays ne sera pas heureux.

Si un palmier (*gišimmaru*) est triste (*adir*), pas de bonheur au milieu des peuples.

Si un iš NAM. TAR est triste (*adir*), la santé des peuples sera mauvaise.

Si un ašâgu est triste (*adir*), la santé des peuples sera mauvaise.

Si un    est triste (*adir*), HI. BI (lacune).

Si un roseau est triste (*adir*), la roseraie et le bocage seront détruits.

Dans un autre omen K 2011, sont indiqués les présages tirés de la position occupée par certains végétaux dans la partie basse d'une ville (*ina mušpali ali*); nous y trouvons également mentionné le   entre la vigne et l'arbre ŠE. NÁ. A (*šunû* =    ); ce document sur lequel, je reviendrai (voir ma traduction des présages), fait partie de la grande famille des omina, intitulée "Si une ville se trouve sur une hauteur"; il se termine par une phrase qui revient également dans mes Documents relatifs aux

¹⁵ *adâru* = être sombre, avoir l'air abattu, dépérir.

¹⁶ *Ningizzida* est une déesse de la végétation; quand les plantes et les arbres souffrent, c'est un signe qu'elle enverra la fièvre (*te'u*).

¹⁷ *baltu*.

présages, où l'on voit que la couleur, que prenaient les eaux des fleuves, au moment de l'inondation, était signalée comme indice d'événements importants. Il est intéressant de constater que les fleuves de Mésopotamie, au moment de leurs débordements, présentaient le même aspect que le " Nil rouge " ; d'où notre texte :

Si au mois de Nisan, l'inondation monte et que le fleuve prend la coloration du sang. . . . AŠ . A . AN. d'après Zimmern (B.R.) serait une sorte de froment et dans certains documents juridiques B.A. III, cette céréale alterne avec le ŠE . BAR ; il règne une grande incertitude touchant la signification de ces deux mots AŠ . A . AN et ŠE . BAR ; pour le premier on songerait à *asnû* (palmier-dattier quelconque) d'autant plus que AŠ . A . AN pourrait fort bien désigner le *našbaṭu*, Delitzsch, *H. W.*, p. 638, c.-à-d. une partie du dattier ; cependant il est plus sûr de regarder AŠ . A . AN comme une espèce de froment, dont les boulangers faisaient du pain (cf. les documents juridiques). Pour *meris tābtu* cf. *P.S.B.A.*, XXIII, 119 ; *ḫilṣu*, voir B.R. où Zimmern donne quelques références ainsi que *G. G. A. X* ; *ḫilṣu* est un végétal ou un arbre cf. *حَلَصٌ* (Dictionnaire de Lane). l. 10. *ḫarinu ikkal* (à moins qu'il ne faille lire *ḫari lā ikkal*, ce qui est plus que douteux) ; *ḫarinu* doit désigner un arbre ou une plante, de même que le pluriel *ḫarinê* (*Annales de Cyrus*, col. III, l. 19, BA . II, p. 222), où il faut traduire des *ḫarinê* (ou des branches de ḫ.) furent étendus devant Cyrus, au moment de son entrée à Babylone.¹⁸ Le roi des Perses fut accueilli avec transports par les Babyloniens. Y-a-t-il lieu de rapprocher *ḫarīnu* de *خروع* = ricin, palma christi ? Dans notre document le terme désigne bien un végétal spécial et il se pourrait très bien, qu'il s'agisse ici du ricin. Le passage de Cyrus reste malgré tout obscur. *Karpat* E . BAR . TI *Karpat* E . ŠIL . TI, termes nouveaux ; *luqi*, voir Meissner *Suppléments* ; *assinnu*, c'est un membre du corps sacerdotal, attaché spécialement à Ištar, mais aussi au culte de Bêl à Nippour et partout où l'on adorait ce dieu. Il fonctionnait à côté du *lagaru* (𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗𒂗), comme nous l'apprend K 9876 (catalogue, p. 1046) ; c'est évidemment le texte qu'a en vue Delitzsch, *H. W.*, p. 414, au mot *malīlu*, où la lecture phonétique du mot *as-sin-nu* nous est donnée. *L'assinnu* est également mentionné dans les présages ; voir aussi Jensen *Mythen*, p. 372 ; pourquoi lire 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗𒂗 : kurgarû au lieu de *lagaru*. <<< 𒂗𒂗𒂗 à lire

¹⁸ Cf. l'entrée triomphale du Christ à Jérusalem, St. Mathieu, xii, v. 8.

ba-rim, lequel n'est point = *barû*, Delitzsch, *H. IV.*, p. 182, mais bien l'hébreu בָּרַר, *Dictionnaire de Siegfried-Stade*, p. 73 = "deutlich machen, eine Schrift deutlich ausprägen ;" ce sens convient admirablement à l'assyrien *bâru*, employé toujours après la formule bien connue *kîma labirišu šaṭirma bârim*, c.-à-d. copié et lisiblement (clairement) gravé d'après son original. Dans le Deutéronome, chapitre xxvii, v. 8, il est dit : "Tu écriras sur les pierres toutes les paroles de cette loi, lisiblement tout-à-fait (c.-à-d. d'une façon tout-à-fait nette). <<< □ correspond exactement à l'hébreu בָּרַר, et doit être lu phonétiquement *bârim* (ba-rim).—Habakuk, Chap. ii, v. 2, on lit : Écris la prophétie et grave la *clairement* sur les tablettes, afin qu'on puisse la lire couramment. Cette tournure est éminemment assyrienne.

§ 2. *Palû* = *clavus annalis*

La recherche de la signification primitive de *palû* peut amener à retrouver un vieil usage, sur lequel les documents cunéiformes ont été muets jusqu'à présent ; si dans l'avenir, par suite de découvertes imprévues, un certain nombre de vieux rites reparaissent et que parmi eux surgissait celui dont je vais dire quelques mots, il serait définitivement établi, que l'étude des vieilles institutions assyro-babyloniennes s'éclaire souvent par celle des vieilles institutions romaines. Nous savons, que la discipline des haruspices babyloniens comportait des règlements analogues à celle, qui régnait en Etrurie ; nous avons vu ailleurs, que l'assyrien a ses dieux pénates comme le citoyen romain ; d'autre part le rituel magique assyro-babylonien, dont nous possédons de nombreux chapitres, n'est pas sans permettre des rapprochements instructifs avec l'Atharveda indou ; il en résulte, que c'est souvent en dehors du monde sémitique, qu'il faut pousser les investigations propres, à pénétrer l'âme complexe babylonienne ; en suivant une voie opposée à celle dans laquelle on s'est engagé jusqu'ici, s'aidant des données de la psychologie comparée, on pourra aborder mieux armé le problème de l'origine de la civilisation assyro-babylonienne ; cette origine telle, qu' elle se présente à nous est entièrement obscure.

Nous voyons par II R 23, 61 E.F., que *palû* désigne une arme dont il est impossible de préciser la nature ; la syllabe fondamentale *pal* de 𐎶𐎵 se retrouve dans nombre de termes avec le sens de creuser, percer, piquer, égorger, *pointer* (avec le double sens français de *perforer* et de *se dresser, monter, s'élever*). Le *palû* était donc un

engin qu'on pouvait ficher en terre, comme une lance ou un clou, et c'est cette dernière signification, qu'il conviendrait de lui attribuer. Si l'on objectait à cela qu'il serait plus naturel de penser à — qu'à $\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}$, nous répondrions, que de même, que "pied" a en assyrien l'idéogramme $\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}$ au lieu de $\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}$, *palû*, "le clou" a $\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}$ au lieu de — . Pour arriver de la signification de clou à celle de règne (l'on sait que *palû* = règne), il faut se remémorer une vieille coutume, qui nous a été transmise par les historiens latins. A Vulsinii dans le temple de Nortia, déesse qui était pour les Etrusques, ce que fut pour les Romains la Fortune de Préneste ou d'Antium, on enfonçait un clou chaque année et les clous mis ainsi à la suite l'un de l'autre servaient à supputer les années écoulées. Même usage au Capitole ; on fichait le clavus annalis dans le mur qui séparait la cella où était la statue de Jupiter de la cella consacrée à Minerve.¹⁹ Y-avait-il à Babylone ou à Ninive une manière de supputer les années du règne d'après laquelle on se servait du clavus annalis (le palû), enfoncé, par exemple, dans le sanctuaire de Bêl à Babylone ? La chose est possible, mais en l'absence de preuves il serait téméraire, de vouloir conclure ; l'avenir nous dira si nous avons été bien inspiré en passant d'Esagila au Capitole ; entre ces deux vieux sanctuaires il y a peut-être plus d'un lien secret, qui nous échappe, enveloppé dans les rites oubliés.

§ 3. *La consultation de l'oracle à l'époque d'Asurbanipal*

K. 1523 + K. 1436

Dans son édition des textes d'Asurbanipal III, S. A. Smith a donné trois importants documents, précieux pour l'étude de l'haruspicium. Ils n'ont fait jusqu'ici l'objet d'aucun mémoire et c'est une raison pour les mettre en lumière ; ils ont paru à une époque où l'on connaissait peu ce genre de documents ; en 1873 Lenormant donnait des copies d'augures divers, mais à part un texte où l'illustre assyriologue avait reconnu avec beaucoup de perspicacité un extispicium, il s'était mépris sur le contenu des autres ; c'est ainsi que le No. 90 n'a rien à voir avec des présages concernant le guerrier et que le No. 91 ne renferme aucune trace d'augures dactylomantiques ; ce sont l'un et l'autre des observations du foie de la victime ; en 1889 l'édition de Smith donnait de nouveaux matériaux pour l'étude de

¹⁹ Voir les travaux de Mommsen, Unger, Marquardt, Bouché-Leclercq, le dictionnaire de Daremberg et Saglio, l'encyclopédie de Pauly-Wissowa, les Etrusker de Müller-Deecke, etc., etc.

la divination, qui venaient s'ajouter à ceux déjà publiés dans le grand recueil du Musée Britannique ; les présages de Sargon²⁰ et de Naram Sin sont basés non pas sur l'astrologie mais bien sur l'inspection des viscères ; l'ouvrage magistral de Knudtzon, paru en 1893 fit faire un grand progrès à cette branche obscure de la littérature cunéiforme, et la consultation de Shamash a fait l'objet de remarques aussi consciencieuses, que celles, qu'on pouvait attendre de la part du savant norvégien. Tout récemment le professeur Zimmern a édité un recueil de règlements à l'usage des haruspices, dont le No. 24 est sans conteste le plus remarquable. Il s'agit de l'origine du fameux sacerdoce, qui remonte à l'époque de Evedoranchos, roi de Sippar, qui correspond au septième roi antédiluvien de Bérose et au septième patriarche de la Genèse, Hénoc. Il est bon de rappeler à cette occasion, que les anciens Perses regardaient les Mages comme issus également d'une famille royale dont l'ancêtre était le célèbre *Manuschir*, un prince mythologique ; l'Avesta nous enseigne, qu'il devint très vieux. De même, qu'en Babylonie pour exercer les fonctions du prêtre *barû* (haruspice) il fallait être de sang noble, sans un défaut corporel, parfaitement sain, de même en Médie et en Perse pour être un mage ou un *mobed*,²¹ les statuts exigent du candidat un certificat de pureté et de noblesse. Zimmern a supposé que le nom de la loi mosaïque תּוֹרָה, pourrait bien avoir été emprunté à *têrtu* ; l'un et l'autre désignent la *révélation*. La réponse de l'oracle est écrite en général sur des tablettes ; le consultant présente au prêtre une tablette, qui porte son nom d'un côté, sur l'autre est inscrite la révélation donnée par le dieu, par l'intermédiaire du *barû*. De sorte, que l'on saisit clairement le but des tables de la loi, qui constituent un des éléments les plus importants du sacerdoce. Un passage de l'Ancien Testament—et ce n'est pas le seul—qui mentionne l'*haruspicium*, se trouve dans *Job*, chap. xxxviii, 36. La חֲכִמָּה c.-à.-d. la *Einsicht*, que possède le *barû* est le reflet de la volonté divine, agissant dans les viscères (בִּטְחֹת). Le מַעַיִם avec le sens "d'organe intérieur" est l'hébreu (pluriel) מַעְיָנִים ; il joue un rôle important dans les présages. Le document qui a nécessité ces explications préliminaires K. 1523 + K. 1436²² est une consultation de l'oracle, qui émane d'un personnage, dont le désir était d'entrer au service du dieu Anou. L'on immole une victime ; les entrailles

²⁰ IV R, 34.²¹ Voir les travaux de James Darmesteter.²² S. A. Smith, *die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, Heft III.

sont examinées ; le prêtre s'avance vers le dieu et lui présente une tablette²³ sur laquelle est écrit le nom du candidat à la prêtrise d'Anou ; l'objet de sa demande y est formulé ; c'est au dieu de rendre son décret. Les 13 premières lignes ne sont qu'un extrait des livres rituels, rédigés à l'usage de la confrérie de la *barûtu*. Les signes, que le prêtre vient d'observer dans la victime sont mentionnés aux lignes 14 et 15 ; de 16 à 27, invocation à la divinité ; les lignes 28 et 29 semblent renfermer le nom de celui qui transmet le demande du candidat au prêtre avec des explications supplémentaires, malheureusement très obscures ; une publication de toutes ces tablettes est bien à désirer.

TRANSCRIPTION

Sans avoir collationné le texte, j'ai pu faire une ou deux corrections importantes, en m'aidant d'autres documents inédits, que j'espère communiquer bientôt.

1. Summa NA KA . BI . AB²⁴
2. ašru-šu e
3. Šumma GIR KA . BI . AB, DAN iâ [šakin]
4. Šumma imnu BÍR paṭir, bēl niqi šal-[lim-tu]
5. ina qâtâ-šu UD . [DU ?]²⁵
6. Šumma reš širi imni ?²⁶ paṭir GU šabbīt-[bit]
7. Šumma ku-tal ḪAR paṭir suḫ-ḫur²⁷ ?
8. ku-tal ummâni-ia nakru im-mar
9. Šumma U ḪAR . DE išid-ša rakis-(is)
10. Šumma KAK . ZAG . GA imni u šumēli NA mas-sil
11. Šumma SÁ . DÁN šal-ḫu maš-la-'-ti²⁸ miqitti-(ti) ummâni-(ni)
12. Šumma KAK . TI ša imni qaš-ša-at
13. šarru rubû iš-ša-aš
14. Šumma imnu BÍR paṭir ku-tal ḪAR imni paṭir
15. Šum-ma SÁ . DÁN šal-ḫu KAK . TI ša imni qaš-ša-at
16. IV TAG . meš ša
17. amēlu ša šum-šu ina libbi (duppu) giṭṭi
18. an-na-a šaṭir-ma

²³ A Dodone on a retrouvé dans les ruines du temple de Zeus, des tablettes de plomb, renfermant des questions adressées à l'oracle ; la différence entre les tablettes de Dodone et la nôtre, réside dans le fait, que les premières sont des questions brèves adressées sans l'intermédiaire de l'extispicium.

²⁴ Sic !

²⁵ ittaši ?

²⁶ nakru me paraît fautif.

²⁷ suḫ-ḫur-tu ?

²⁸ Les signes $\gg\gg$ et $\gg\ll$ sont fautifs, il faut lire $\gg\gg$ et $\gg\ll$.

VERSO

19. Ina pân ilu-ti-ka rabi-ti tâbu
20. Aššur-bân-aplu šarru mât Aššur^{ki}
21. a-na amêl šangu-tu ša ilu A-nim
22. ša âl Aššur lip-qi-du
23. kima ip-taq-du-šu eli ilu-ti-ka
24. rabi-tum tâbu i-ši ilu-ti-ka rabi-ti
25. ši-tal eli iluA-nim bêli rab-e
26. tâbu i-ši iluA-nim belu rab-e ši-tal
27. TAG-at
28. iluMarduk-šum-ušur ana eli Ba-ni-i
29. epaš-(aš) šangu-u-te ša iluAnim
30. ŠU . U gab-bi ša a ma TAG-at
31. ištu (ina ? libbi ?) a-a-ak aḥ-ḥar
32. šîre lâ ipparrassu-(su)

TRADUCTION

1. Si un *na* est bombé
2. son lieu
3. Si un *gir* est bombé, que le *dan* ne se trouve pas
4. Si la droite du *bîr* est fendue, le sacrificateur un acte propice
5. de ses mains jaillira
6. Si la tête *šîr* à droite du ? est fendue que le *gu* soit adhérent ?
7. Si la muraille du foie a une lésion, que le *suḥḥur*²⁹
8. l'ennemi verra alors la muraille de mon armée
9. Si le lobule a sa base nouée
10. Si le *kakzagga* à droite et à gauche le *na* comprime ?
11. Si le *sâdan* est arraché, repoussement ? défaite de l'armée
12. Si le *kakti* de droite est détaché
13. le prince le roi dépouillera
14. Si la droite du *bîr* a une lésion, si la muraille du foie a une lésion à droite
15. Si le *sâdan* est arraché, que son *kakti* droit est détaché
16. 4 signes énigmatiques pour
l'homme dont le nom est écrit sur cette tablette.

²⁹ *Suḥḥur*[*tu* ?] ne peut signifier ici, *défaite*, *recul*, *repoussement*, de plus la fin de la phrase est incertaine ; il se peut fort bien qu'on lise un autre signe, que *tû*, ce qui donnerait *suḥḥur*

VERSO

19. est il bon devant ton auguste divinité
20. qu'Assourbanapal roi d'Assyrie
21. le désigne pour la prêtrise d'Anou
22. à Assour.
23. lorsqu'il l'aura désigné (pour cette prêtrise) à ta divinité
24. auguste, que bon il soit, ta divinité auguste
25. prononce (l'oracle), qu'à Anou le seigneur suprême
26. bon il soit, Anou le maître souverain
27. prononce (l'oracle) ; la réponse de
28. Mardukšoumouşour à Bani :
29. Il exercera le sacerdoce d'Anou
30. Voici tout ce que ? ?
31. dans (ou hors de) la chapelle ?
32. les oracles ne sont pas opposés.

(à suivre)

A "SCYTHIAN" IN EGYPT.

BY W. E. CRUM.

Hitherto no monumental trace, so far as I am aware, has been observed in Egypt of the barbarian troops which served there under the Byzantine emperors. It may therefore be of interest to call attention to a limestone stele commemorating one of these foreign soldiers,¹ which, though published by M. Gayet,² cannot be properly estimated from his copy. The text should be as follows :

ⲧ ⲩⲡⲉⲣ ⲙⲛⲩ
 Ⲛⲉⲱⲥ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ
 ⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩ ⲡⲓⲓ
 ⲙⲉⲣ ⲥⲧⲣ, ⲥⲕⲩ
 ⲑ, ⲉⲕⲟⲓⲙⲩⲑ

(Two lines left blank
 for date.)

¹ I have recently printed the inscription : *Coptic Ostraca*, Introduction, p. xxii.

² *Miss. franç. au Caire*, III, pl. LXXXI ; also in Gayet, *L'Art copte*, 1892, 227. The stele is now partly in the Alexandria Museum (no. 282), the lower portion being probably in Cairo (no. 8633 of my volume of the *Catal. général*, 1892).

In l. 4 read probably *στρατηγός*, not *στρατιώτης* (*cf.* my *Ostraca*, no. 416). The deceased here was presumably orthodox, not Arian. The name Ricimer was conspicuously borne by the Suevan 'king-maker' of the Western empire, *ob.* 472, while Richomir (*Ῥιχομήρης*) the Frank³ had been consul in 384. The *Notitia Dignitatum* (circa 400) mentions Franks, Alamanni, Chamavi stationed in the Thebaid and Vandals in Egypt.⁴ An account of the despatch thither by Theodosius I of a body of such *Foederati* is given by Zosimus (iv, 30).

The style of decoration on this stele points to Edfu as its provenance; *cf.* Gayet's nos. XVIII, XXX, LI (?), LII, LXXIX, LXXX, LXXXII, LXXXIII, LXXXVII, LXXXVIII, all being examples of this style and all stated to have come thence. Nos. LXXXIV and XCVIII, and several other pieces in Cairo, show the same style, but are of unrecorded *provenance*.⁵ I am not, however, aware that any inferences as to the date of this style of work have as yet been drawn. About a dozen stelae in all bear precise dates—almost all the 8th century—but none of these has decoration similar to ours. The formula here, *ὑπὲρ μνήσεως τοῦ . . .* is a very rare variant⁶ of *ὑπὲρ μνήμης καὶ ἀναπαύσεως τοῦ . . .* or *ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς τοῦ . . .*, which are not uncommon outside Egypt.⁷ The fact that the epitaph here is in Greek proves little; several of the above similar stelae (nos. LXXIX, LXXX, LXXXII, LXXXIV) have texts either wholly or partly in Coptic.

³ Rauschen, *Jahrbücher*, 298, quoting Libanius and Symmachus. On forms of the name *v.* Förstemann, *Altdeuts. Namenb.* (1856), 1048.

⁴ *V.* Ranke, *Weltgesch.*, IV, 172. The 'Vandal' monastery of S. Jeremias at Memphis, mentioned *circa* 530 in the Itinerary of Theodosius (*ed.* Gildemeister, p. 23), points merely to a confusion between Arians ('Vandals') and Monophysites; *cf.* Krall, *Rechtsurkunden*, 79. Jeremias was a contemporary, it seems, of the Emperor Anastasius (*v.* John of Nikiu, 488).

⁵ Others in this style: Riegl, *Spätröm. Kunstindustrie*, 1901, 122, and *Bessarione*, 1901, 29.

⁶ I have not found it elsewhere. *Μνήσις*, given by Stephanus, is itself very rare.

⁷ Examples of the former from Egypt: *CIG.*, 9117, 9127.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF AŠURBÂNIPAL'S REIGN.

I.

BY REV. C. H. W. JOHNS, *M.A.*

As is well known, the existing copies of the *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, so far as published, break off shortly after Ašurbânipal came to the throne in Assyria. This king's own inscriptions, so far as published, group the events of the reign about central ideas, rather than in the exact order of their occurrence. The *Babylonian Chronicle*, which has so often fixed the chronology of other reigns, only touches the first two years. The Ptolemaic Canon fixes the external limits of the reign from B.C. 668 to B.C. 626, but that only indirectly as a result of comparison with the years given for contemporary Babylonian monarchs. The statements of Berossus are to be interpreted in the light given by these hints. The Babylonian Kings' List A breaks off before this reign.

Hence it may be said that chronological data for this reign fail us. But there is reason to believe that at least the Eponym Canon could be restored for the whole of the reign. When it is remembered what Assyrian chronology already owes to this canon, and that it may be regarded as the backbone of all exact chronology for the seventh century B.C., it may seem a worthy task to attempt such a restoration. This has already been done for the first half of the reign, but in such a way as not to inspire much confidence.

In the first place G. Smith, in his *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, assigned dates to a number of Eponyms down to B.C. 644, but usually with some expressed doubt. In his *History of Assurbanipal*, he extended his datings to the year B.C. 640, but still with doubt. He nowhere gave an account of the grounds which led him to fix on these dates, though for the most part they can be surmised. The dates given by G. Smith were generally treated as doubtful, and various authors suggested alternatives. Professor C. P. Tiele, in his *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 388, 389, seems to have been the first to appreciate properly G. Smith's reasons, and taking other points into account, he definitely fixed the Eponyms for B.C. 668-648.

But his views did not command acceptance, for the *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum*, by Dr. C. Bezold, treated the dates of these Eponyms as quite open to question, and other writers have since done the same. Especially Professor J. Oppert, in his article, *Le Droit de Lignager à Ninive*, *Comptes Rendus*, 1898, pp. 566-592, who gave a provisional arrangement of the Eponyms from B.C. 668 to B.C. 644, set out his reasons for rejecting these dates. Dr. F. E. Peiser, in his article, *Der Schluss des Assyrischen Eponym canons*, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1901, pp. 93-133, has given yet another provisional arrangement for the Eponyms from B.C. 668 to B.C. 617. Both the latter writers make use largely of the dated documents published, most of them for the first time, in *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (Deighton, Bell & Co., 1898).

In my edition of those texts, I provisionally accepted G. Smith's dates, and denoted the later Eponyms by symbols, expressly avoiding a premature decision as to their date. But during the writing of the third volume, a consideration of the dates became imperatively necessary. Accordingly I drew up for my own guidance a provisional arrangement of all the Eponyms who must be placed after the close of the Eponym Canon. As further study of the texts and the publication of fresh material may modify some details of this arrangement, and as the chronological order of the documents was not among the questions treated in the third volume, I did not give it there in full, only drawing attention to such points as grew out of the matter in hand. But in order that others may be stimulated to take up the question, I now set forth my reasons for the dates which I would propose.

In order to clear the ground, we may begin with the reign of Ašurbânipal. Opinions have differed as to the date of his accession. The matter was complicated by the fact that some suppose him to have been made king of Assyria during the life-time of his father, Esarhaddon, the latter calling himself by the fuller title, "king of Assyria, *šakkanaku* of Babylon, king of Šumer and Akkad, etc., etc." This would account for Ašurbânipal's being able to claim as his own exploits some of the deeds of his father. Similarly it has been contended that Ašurbânipal's brother, Šamaš-šum-ukîn, was made king of Babylon, before his father's death.

It would be conceivable that some documents would reckon the regnal years of these kings from these installations as titular monarchs.

But it is not likely that the Babylonian priests, in their records, from which Berossus and Ptolemy's Canon drew their information, would reckon Ašurbânipal to have been king of Assyria before his father's death. At first sight, the *Babylonian Chronicle* seems to date his accession immediately upon his father's death, in Arahšamna, after a reign of twelve years. But the *Chronicle* does not explicitly state which was the month of Ašurbânipal's accession. Some short time probably elapsed before the news of his father's death, on the road to Egypt, could reach Nineveh. Esarhaddon died in B.C. 669. Hence Ašurbânipal's accession took place in B.C. 669, and his first regnal year was B.C. 668, the Eponymy of Marlârîm.

G. Smith, in his *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 320, recognised "as satisfactorily established" the dates of only the first three Eponyms; Marlârîm, B.C. 668; Gabbaru, B.C. 667; and Tebêtai, B.C. 666. The latter name he regards as "restored." The first two names are clearly preserved on Canon I. All the authorities have accepted these three dates, but for the sake of completeness we will exhibit later the grounds of this restoration.

At an uncertain interval, G. Smith placed, p. 321, a group of five names, found partly preserved at the end of Canon I (see *Eponym Canon*, p. 40), and restored from K. 23, *A.D.D.*, No. 993. To these he added the dates B.C. 663-659, thus leaving space for two names in B.C. 665-644. In the *Eponym Canon*, pp. 69 and 94, he suggested the names Mannu-kî-šarri and Šarru-lûdâri for these two years. I shall call this Group I. Tiele and Peiser accept Smith's date, Oppert puts it B.C. 658-654.

Lower down G. Smith placed a group of ten names, which he judged to extend from B.C. 657-648. These were taken from the end of Canon III (see *Eponym Canon*, p. 40). These names, Tiele argued must be put two years earlier, but on somewhat insufficient grounds. Pater J. N. Strassmaier put them six years, Oppert four years, Peiser nine years later. I agree with Tiele, subject to one reservation. This I call Group II.

All the authorities seem to admit that the dates of Group II depend upon the date to be assigned to Bêl-šunu, in whose Eponymy falls the date of Cylinder B of Ašurbânipal. Tiele and Peiser agree in arguing that as Cylinder B records the outbreak of the war between Šamaš-šum-ukîn and Ašurbânipal, but does not record the fall of Babylon, or the death of Šamaš-šum-ukîn, it must be dated before B.C. 647 at any rate, when the Ptolemaic Canon gives

Kineladanos as king of Babylon. Tiele gives B.C. 648, Peiser B.C. 649. Oppert relied on his interpretation of K. 78 and other astronomical texts to fix Bêlšunu in B.C. 660. G. Smith suggested B.C. 647 in his *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 321; B.C. 646, *Eponym Canon*, p. 96. But on quite other grounds from Tiele's I place Bêlšunu at the same date as he does, B.C. 648.

G. Smith, both in his *History of Assurbanipal* and *Eponym Canon*, puts Nabû-šar-aḥêšu in the next year to Bêlšunu, Tiele leaves the date uncertain, Oppert in B.C. 659, Peiser in B.C. 637. But from K. 4773, *A.D.D.*, No. 927, we learn that he was six years after Sagabbu, B.C. 645. G. Smith, in his *History of Assurbanipal*, thought Šamaš-dānināni, in whose Eponymy Cylinder A of Ašurbānīpal is dated, might be as late as B.C. 640. In the *Eponym Canon*, p. 97, he suggested B.C. 644. Tiele would put the date somewhat later than B.C. 648, Oppert makes no suggestion, Peiser gives B.C. 636.

The dates given by Dr. Bezold are so various and inconsistent as not to be worth comparison; thus for Group I he gives the first Eponym, Bêl-nā'id, B.C. 644-3(?), but the last, Silim-Ašur, of course five years later, as B.C. 665-4(?), about twenty years earlier; see *Index Volume*, pp. 1991 and 2186.

Beside these two fragments of the Eponym Canons, we can compare dated documents, each of which has a number of witnesses, and judge thereby of the nearness of dates. It will be seen that one and the same person appears in business year after year, for some time, accompanied by a fairly constant group of contemporaries. The documents relating to his transactions therefore form a group, more or less closely connected as to date.

Thus Group III, consisting of the Eponyms in whose years a high official called Rīmāni-Adadi appears in business, extends from B.C. 670 down to the Eponymy of Gir-Zapunu in Group I. It includes the Eponymies of Mannu-kī-šarri and Šarru-lūdāri; and doubtless the recognition of this group led G. Smith to place those Eponymies where he did. It deals with about 40 documents, naming about 150 contemporaries of Rīmāni-Adadi, some of whom are named as many as ten times. In many cases these persons show a gradual rise in office; and thus, if we had no other indications, we could deduce the order of the Eponymies. In this case we know the order, from B.C. 670 to B.C. 666, and B.C. 663 to B.C. 660. Hence a thorough check can be placed on deductions

for most of the time. Group III thus overlaps the end of the Canon List, while it is still beyond doubt, and also overlaps Group I, thus rendering it quite certain that that group is not below Group II. It also rules out of court Oppert's date, and proves the restoration Țebêtai for B.C. 666, and satisfactorily establishes Mannu-kî-šarri and Šarru-lûdâri for the interval between B.C. 666 and Group I.

What it does not prove is that there was no longer interval between B.C. 666 and Group I. It is curious that without knowledge of the contents of Group III, Tiele, Oppert, and others should have accepted Țebêtai for B.C. 666, and that Tiele should not have more vigorously doubted Mannu-kî-šarri and Šarru-lûdâri. G. Smith had doubtless sufficient knowledge of Group III, but it has been considerably extended by later additions to the Museum collections. Dr. Peiser, and also Oppert, however, had the whole of Group III at their command. The former accepts Țebêtai, indeed sets forth most of the reasons for doing so, as I already did in *A.D.D.*, Vol. III, p. 202; but relegates Mannu-kî-šarri to B.C. 630, and puts Šarru-lûdâri between B.C. 658 and B.C. 651.

Further it is to be noted that this kind of argument from groups can give no certainty that the Eponyms represented are all who were in office during the period. Thus Group III includes the Eponymy of Țâb-šâr-Sin, whose existence is known from Group I, but no documents are known to be dated in this Eponymy. Thus there might be other Eponyms in the gap between B.C. 666 and Group I.

But if Bêlšunu be dated in B.C. 648, Group II begins in B.C. 658. Hence Group I must begin in B.C. 663, and there are no other Eponyms in Group III. As it stands, since each Eponymy begins in Nisânu of one year and extends about three months into the next year, we have documents belonging to Group III for every year from B.C. 668 to B.C. 660.

For the years after B.C. 648 we have another group, marked by the business transactions of another high official called Kakkullânu. This includes 23 documents, naming about 90 persons, at perhaps ten different dates. From these an order for these ten Eponyms can be set down. Other Eponyms may be inserted in the period. This I call Group IV. Another group of six Eponyms is closely connected by the persons named, which I call Group V.

In other cases two Eponymies are closely connected, having as much as thirteen per cent. of the names in common. But the best

way to compare the years is to write down for each Eponymy a list of the persons named in that Eponymy, with their offices and notes of their occurrence in other Eponymies. Then the name lists so drawn up may be compared and the order shifted about until an order is obtained in which each Eponymy is as closely related as possible to those on each side of it.

Such a method does not amount to a demonstration, for several important reasons. It is conceivable that when such an order has been obtained, the last name should really be placed first, and the whole list read backward. This consideration I recommend to Dr. Peiser. A check upon this source of error will be to note whether the persons named are promoted as time goes on. Thus it may be satisfactorily established that the three Eponyms A, B, C are so closely related that B is nearer to A than any other, and C nearer to B than any other. But this proves nothing against the order C B A. There must be a rise in office. An official who is *mutir pûti* in A, may be *rab kişir* in B or C, if these are later. It is not likely that any man appears later in a lower office.

Further, this method proves nothing concerning the existence of gaps between A and B, or B and C. Some account may be taken of the titles of the Eponyms. In Sennacherib's time, and onwards, the old strict order of King, Tartan, *nâgir êkalli*, *rab BI-LUL*, *abarakku*, etc., was departed from; but it is difficult to believe that at any time a Tartan was placed next after an *abarakku*.

A question which does not admit of any settlement arises in some few cases. The name list for the year is so small, or contains so few names found elsewhere, that it is impossible to connect it with any other name list. In one or two cases no names at all are preserved for the particular Eponymy. Thus Daddi, the *abarakku rabû*, was an Eponym in the reign of Sinšariškun, for he dates a cylinder of that king's. But there is no means of associating his Eponymy with any other.

Much the same difficulty applies to the Eponymies of the kings. G. Smith believed (*Eponym Canon*, p. 26) that after Sennacherib "the old order of the Eponymies ceased, and the office was only held by governors, generals, and court officials; *no later monarch taking any part in it.*" Professor Oppert says: "*les derniers rois Assarhaddon, Sardanapale, Assur-edil-el III et Sin-sar-iskun, dédaignèrent cette fonction annuelle.*" The view seems to be ill-

founded. Esarhaddon only reigned twelve years. The Canon Lists only preserve the first three names of Ašurbânipal's reign in a connected order. We have no record for the other reigns. Hence Dr. Peiser is quite free, and I follow him, in postulating an Eponymy for Ašurbânipal. But has he any evidence for it? He even suggests that Ašurbânipal may have been Eponym twice. Dr. Bezold, it is true, in the *Catalogue*, p. 657, gives the date of K. 4728 as *limmu Ašurbânipal*. But that was an error, [the tablet is dated in the Eponymy of Ašur-dûr-ušur. There is other evidence that Ašurbânipal was Eponym, which I will produce later.

The above remarks are intended to show the nature of the work to be done. If the readers of the *Proceedings* will bear with me, I propose to take these points in order. The arguments for each group shall be given as concisely as possible, with authorities for each statement. But a complete discussion would fill a treatise, and certainty is out of question. For the guidance of students, I append a list for the first half of the reign. It will be clear that we must know the date of Group II to fix the dates above it.

RECONSTRUCTED CANON LIST, B.C. 668-648.

B.C.	Eponym.	Title.	
668	Marlârim ...	<i>šaknu</i> of Kummuh	} Canon I.
667	Gabbaru ...	<i>šaknu</i> of Dûr-Sin-aḫê-erba	
666	Tebêtai ...	<i>šaknu</i> of Bit Ešši	
665	Mannu-kî-šarri ...	<i>šaḫû</i> of the king	} Group III.
664	Šarru-lûdâri ...	<i>šaknu</i> of Dûr-Šarrûkin	
663	Bêl-nâ'id ...	Tartan	
662	Tâb-šâr-Sin ...	(<i>rab BI-LUL</i>)	
661	Arbailai ...	<i>abarakku rabû</i>	} Group I.
660	Gir-Zapunu ...	(<i>nâgîru</i>)	
659	Silim-Ašur ...	<i>sukallu dannu</i>	} Group II.
658	Ša-Nabû-šû ...	<i>šaḫû</i>	
657	Labasi ...	<i>rab kâri</i>	
656	Milki-râmu ...	(<i>šaknu</i> of Aššur)	
655	Amianu ...	<i>šaknu</i> of Akkad	
654	Ašur-nâsir ...		
653	Ašur-ilai ...	<i>sukallu rabû</i>	
652	Ašur-dûr-ušur ...	<i>šaknu</i> of Barḫalza	
651	Sagabbu ...	<i>šaknu</i> of Ḫarrân	
650	Bêl-Ḫarrân-šadûa ...	<i>šaknu</i> of Tyre (Kar-Esarhaddon)	
649	Aḫê-ilai ...	<i>šaknu</i> of Nineveh	
648	Bêlšunu ...	<i>šaknu</i> of Ḫindana	

SEMITIC ANALOGIES FOR OLD TESTAMENT NAMES.

BY JOSEPH OFFORD, *Member Japan Society.*

The close connection between the religious concepts, and the similarity in the names of the deities forming the Pantheon, of the various branches of the Semitic race, such as the Assyrians and Arameans, Hebrews, Phœnicians, and Palmyrenes, are well known. They are particularly exemplified by the titles of personages forming the Semitic Onomasticon, and as the number of Semitic texts augments, are frequently further amplified.

An interesting instance of this kind is afforded by the name of the Prince of Dor, in the "Golenischef Papyrus" of an Egyptian's voyage to Syria; one Zeker-baal, whose similarity of name with that of Zachariah, is at once apparent. The same idea is carried into Phœnician expression by an intaglio in the British Museum, which reads Zeker-Hoshea.* This name Zeker-baal is clearly the original form of the classic "Sicharbas," the husband of the famous Dido of Carthage. The Romans frequently suppressed the final letters of Punic names, probably owing to a peculiarity of the Punic pronunciation; for instance, the original form of the well-known "Sophonisba" turns out to be *Sophonibaal*, as M. Clermont-Ganneau has shown in *Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, vol. xxvi, p. 833.

In Exodus vi, 21, and Nehemiah xi, 9, we have Zichri.

The three Aramaic, or proto-Aramaic, texts of Zendjirli, give several examples of the word *Zakar*; the "Hadad inscription" having זכר, to remember; and זוכר, the imperfect; also זכר, memorial; and זכרי and זכרו.†

In Chronicles viii, 31, we have Zacher זָכָר; and elsewhere in the Old Testament Zachur זָכֹור and Zaccur. The people over one

* Dr. Levy, "*Siegel und Gemmen*," p. 42. The Punic name Sicharbas Dr. Cheyne cites in this connection. This gem is however probably a Jewish one, and intended to be read Zeker [ben] Hosea.

† Gray, "*Aramaic Glossary*," p. 48.

portion of which the Zeker-baal princes at Dor ruled, the papyrus tells us, were called Zakar, or Zakari.* In Winckler's edition of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, No. 1, line 19 gives a personage named, Zakarā; probably in the sense of Zakarite.†

In all these instances we have the well-known Semitic root *Zakar* = "to remember," which runs through the whole family thus: Assyrian, 𐎶 𐎠𐎵 𐎶 𐎠𐎵; Hebrew, זָכַר; Aramaic, רָכַר; Syriac, ܙܚܪ; Arabic, ذَكَر.‡

Mr. Theophilus G. Pinches, D.C.L., with his usual kindness, sends me the following notes upon "Zecher names," or rather the forms of Zakāru in names. The commonest forms are Zakir, or Zakiru "recorder"; frequently an abbreviation of such titles as Marduk-zakir šumi, "Merodach has recorded a name." Another name is Zikari. Forms of the root as compounds of names are frequent, such as Izkur-Marduk, "Merodach has recorded," and Ê-kura-zakir, "the temple (ê kura) has recorded." *Zikkuratu*, "peak," or "memorial tower," may be added. These towers were sometimes deified, and then the word became Zikkur(r)atu^m.

In a Palmyrene text we have the name זבדבול, Zabdibol, of which Waddington, No. 2595, gave the Greek equivalent Ζαβδιβωλειων. This name, "Gift of Baal," precisely parallels with Zebadiah (1 Chronicles xxvii, 7, and viii, 15); and Zabdi-el (Nehemiah xi, 14); also Ζαβδιελ in 1 Macc. xi, 17. We also have at Palmyra נבוזבד "Nebozabad" and its counterpart "Zabdi-nebo." Another Palmyrene name is given by M. Derenbourg as Jaribol, compare also Jozabad, 2 Chron. xxxi, 13, יוזבד, and in the *Revue Biblique*, 1900, p. 643, M. Berger quotes a name in the *Cor. Ins. Semit.*, ירבבעל, comparing it with Jerubbaal, ירבבעל. M. Berger writes ירבבעל.

* See Clermont Ganneau, "Le peuple des Zakkari," in *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, article 50 of vol. IV; and Max Müller, "Der Urheimat der Philister der Papyrus Golenischef," in *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatische Forschungen*, 1900.

† Tel-el-Amarna, 149, 23, reads: "la-a i-sa-har ši-hu i-zakir." Compare Phœnician 𐤐𐤏𐤕, "sakar," memory. 2 Kings xii, 22 gives us יִזְכֹּר "Yahveh remembered."

‡ The name Za-kir also occurs in one of the Tel el-Amarna tablets translated by the Rev. A. J. Delattre, *S.J.* See *Proceedings*, Nov., 1901, page 339, line 24 of the inscription.

EXTRACTS FROM MY NOTEBOOKS.

V.

BY PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

28. A STATUETTE OF RENĪ, MAYOR OF EL KAB. In the Turin Museum is a small statuette in grey granite, a little over a foot in height, of the  and  Mayor and Superintendent of the Priests of El Kab   Renī, whom we may perhaps identify with the Rennī* whose tomb is one of the most interesting of the many monuments at El Kab. The figure is represented seated on a -chair clad in a long robe covering the arms and body to the ankles. The left hand is laid upon the right breast and the right hand is folded over the left wrist. Down the front of the garment from the waist to the ankles are two vertical lines of hieroglyphs giving (1) the *Te hetep seten* formula to Nekhebet that she may give all good and pure things that issue upon her altar on all auspicious (2) occasions for the benefit of the *ka* of the Mayor, the skilful scribe of the Good God (*i.e.*, the king) the wise one in every secret undertaking, Renā, justified."



vase or tube (No. 1212),* with a vertical line of hieroglyphics in black, reading :—



“The Good God Neb-maat-Ra
(Amenhetep III) and the
Royal Daughter, the Great
Royal Wife, Sat-Amen,
Living.”



The Princess Sat-Amen was already known from an inscription on a fragment of an ebony box in the British Museum† (No. 5899A), where she is stated to be the daughter of Amenhetep III by the Great Royal Wife Thÿi, and also “the   Wife of the King.” A stele in the Cairo Museum‡ likewise mentions her, and a scene on it shows her seated on the lap of her nurse Nebt-kabenî, daughter of the “Royal ornament” Aahmes. M. Legrain has recently discovered a statue of her steward, the famous Amenhetep son of Hapi.§ Her name also occurs on a disk from Tell el-Amarna in the Ashmolean Museum,|| and on a fragment of a blue-glazed ring from the site of the palace of Amenhetep III at Thebes, in the possession of Mr. Herbert Thompson (Pl. I,

* H. Wallis, *Egyptian Ceramic Art*, p. 21, fig. 34.

† Published in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. VIII, 39. .

‡ Published in Mariette's *Abydos* II, pl. 49.

§ *Annales du Service des Antiquités*. Tom. II, p. 283.

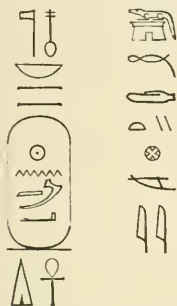
|| Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, Pl. XIII, 16.

- (c.) Steatite bead coated with blue-green glaze, inscribed :—

 Men-kheper-Ra (Thothmes III), beloved of Sebek-Ra, Lord of Sunu.”
 Mr. MacGregor's Collection.

- (d.) Pottery plaque coated with pea-green glaze and inscribed with the name of the Ethiopian King Aspalut. (Pl. I, fig. 1.) Mr. MacGregor's Collection.

- (e.) Steatite bead coated with green glaze, and inscribed :—



“Ne-maat-Ra (Amenemhat III)
 beloved of Sebek of Shedeti.” Mr.
 MacGregor's Collection.

- (f.) Faience bead coated with blue glaze, inscribed :

 “The judge, Governor of the City (of Thebes) and Vezir, Paser, justified.” Mr. Hilton Price's Collection. In a previous note (*Proceedings*, Feb., 1900, pp. 62-63) I have given a list of monuments inscribed with the name of Paser; to that list may now be added: Two statuettes in the Museum at Carlsberg; a fragment of an ivory pen case found at Abydos; a similar bead to Mr. Hilton Price's in the Petrie Collection, at University College; a small plaque in the Berlin Museum, No. 15389; and a small limestone stela in the Museum at Antwerp; for my knowledge of the latter object I am indebted to my friend Baron Fritz von Bissing.

- (g.) Fragment of a light blue glazed vase inscribed with the name of the



“The Great Royal Wife, ‘Thaa,”
 Queen of Amenhetep II. Lord
 Amherst of Hackney's Collection.

33. THE VEZÎR ^ÂYm-HETEP. In the Cairo Museum is a limestone block of the date of Thothmes I bearing an inscription relating to a Vezîr named ^ÂYm-hetep (Grébaut, *Musée de Boulaq*, Pl. XVI). Until the past winter this was the only record known of this great official. In January last, however, Mr. Theodore M. Davis bought at Luxor ^ÂYm-hetep's scarab-seal, the inscription upon which he kindly allowed me to copy. I give a fac-simile of it here (Pl. I, fig. 2).

34. A NEW KING OF THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY. Mr. Davis was also fortunate enough to procure in Upper Egypt this winter a small steatite cylinder-seal bearing the name of a new Thirteenth Dynasty King. The inscription runs:—



“The Son of Ra, Amenemhat-Sebekhetep,
beloved of Sebek-Ra, Lord of Shÿteru (?)”
I cannot identify the place-name.

35. AN INSCRIBED BRONZE AXE-HEAD. An interesting inscribed bronze axe-head was purchased last summer by Signor Dattari of Cairo, and is now in that gentleman's collection. On one face of it is incised a representation of a ship with the prenomen of Amen-



hetep II before its prow, and beneath the boat the following

horizontal line of hieroglyphs, roughly incised.

stating that the
axe-head was “given by favour of the king” to the “Captain of the
Mery-Amen, Heru . . . ?” This ship *Mery-Amen* is mentioned on

several stelæ in the Louvre, two of which bear the cartouche of Thothmes IV. One of these (C. 10) gives the name of the successor of Heru . . . ? , the "Captain Semen," the other (C. 53) the name of the *Zasert* of the boat—"Pa-aa-aqu." Spiegelberg gives references to several other inscriptions in which this ship is named in his *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I*, p. 85.

36. TWO PREHISTORIC SLATE AMULETS. In the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney at Didlington Hall are two prehistoric slate amulets, the finest examples of their kind that I have seen. One of these represents a pigeon (Pl. II, fig. 1) with the wing and tail feathers incised and very naturally treated. The other specimen shows a young duck with the outline of the wings incised (Pl. II, fig. 2). The pigeon has a small hole pierced through it above the wings, evidently for suspending it on the person by a string: the duck is not pierced. These specimens were bought at Luxor and are said to have been found near Nagada.

37. A PREHISTORIC FIGURE OF THE ELEPHANT (Pl. I, fig. 5). About a dozen figures of elephants are known on prehistoric Egyptian antiquities, and several rude drawings of this animal have been published by Prof. Petrie* and others. To these examples may now be added another from a prehistoric jar of the type represented, in the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney. The animal is represented by incised lines, and appears to have the large ears of the African species.

The three scarabs described below, were purchased last winter in Egypt, by Mr. Theodore M. Davis, who kindly allows me to publish them.

38. QUEEN AAT-SHET. A scarab inscribed with the name of this hitherto unrecorded queen. The inscription runs:

, "The Great Royal Wife Aat-shet."

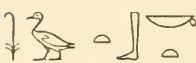
From the style of the scarab I should be inclined to place her in the first quarter of the XVIIIth dynasty.

39. QUEEN SENB-HENA-ES. Two scarabs of this queen are preserved in the Berlin Museum (No. 9518, 10977†), and

* Five scratched figures of the elephant are given in *Nagada and Ballas*, Pl. LI, 11-13, and a slate palette in the shape of the animal in Pl. XLVII, 5.

† This specimen is figured in my forthcoming work on *Scarabs*, Pl. XIII, No. 30.

both specimens give her the single title of  "Royal Wife." In Mr. Davis' example the inscription runs: , "The Royal Wife, who is united to the beauty of the White Crown, Senb-hena-es." From her name* she evidently belongs to the XIIIth dynasty.

40. PRINCE TEB-KET. A scarab bearing the inscription  "the Royal Son Teb-ket," is interesting as being the only record at present known of this prince. From the style of the scarab and its glazing, his date must be Thothmes III or thereabouts.

* The corresponding masculine form is found, among other instances, in the name of a vezir of the XIIIth dynasty, Senb-hena-ef, mentioned in the now destroyed coffin of Queen Mentuhetep (*vide Proc. S.B.A.*, 1891, Dec., p. 41).



PLATE I.



I

PLAQUE OF KING ASPALUT.



2

SCARAB OF $\hat{\text{Y}}$ M-HETEP.



3

RING OF SAT-AMEN.



4

PIECE OF KOHL TUBE OF
HENT-TA-NEB.



5

PREHISTORIC DRAWING OF AN ELEPHANT.

PLATE II.



1



2

PREHISTORIC SLATE AMULETS.
Belonging to Lord Amherst of Hackney.

THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC.

BY THE REV. W. O. E. OESTERLEY, *M.A.*

In seeking to explain the motive for which this narrative was written, some considerations of a preliminary character are indispensable. It is necessary, in the first place, to establish the fact that human sacrifice was practised among the Israelites, and that the victim was usually a first-born son ; the date at which the narrative was written has, as will be seen, an important bearing on its meaning. The traditional interpretation of the story causes, not unnaturally, considerable difficulty to some ; to others it is a real stumbling-block, for, regarded from its moral aspect, it is distinctly unsatisfactory ; such, at any rate, is the feeling of many. The question is whether the story does not admit of an explanation which, although antagonistic to the traditional interpretation, proves indisputably that the writer was not only sincere, but that the tendency of his times made his appeal to antiquity a burning necessity.

I.

On the general question as to the prevalence of human sacrifice among primitive races, and especially (for the present purpose) among Semitic races, there can be no difference of opinion ; a few references may, however, be given. That these sacrifices were offered by the ancient Greeks is shown by Frazer (*The Golden Bough*, ii, pp. 34-38), he quotes the testimony of Herodotus, Apollodorus, Plato, Plutarch, and others ; further, it is shown, in the same work (ii, pp. 238-256), that the practice was widely prevalent among more primitive races, viz., among the Indians of Mexico and Ecuador, the Pawnees, the natives of West Africa, Bechuanaland, Central Africa, the Philippine Islands, Indo-China, North-eastern India, and the Khonds in Bengal ; besides this, numerous instances are given of customs in European countries and elsewhere, which seem, without doubt, to be the remains of what was once a human sacrifice. One fact especially, in almost all the instances cited, strikes the reader, (and it is of importance to the present discussion) : namely, that in

practically every case these human sacrifices, though regular, occurred but rarely,—once a year, and that at harvest time.

The evidence for this practice among the Semitic races is likewise abundant ; here also little more need be done than to refer to the sources of the evidence : thus, Porphyry tells us that the *Phœnicians* used to sacrifice their children to Baal (*De Abstinētia*, ii, 56) ; these sacrifices played a leading part in their religion ; the origin of it was sought in the ancient myth that Il (El), the great god, while on earth, reigning as king of Byblus, offered his son as an expiatory sacrifice during a time of great national danger. The *Babylonians* offered human sacrifices ; a very interesting illustration of this is given in Ball's *Light from the East*, p. 152 ; see also the article on this subject by the same writer in the *Proceedings*, XIV, p. 149. For the prevalence of the custom among the *Assyrians*, see Zimmern, in the *Götting. Ges. Anz.*, 1899, pp. 250 ff. The *Arabians*, in like manner, offered human sacrifices in early times (see W. Rob. Smith, *Rel. of the Semites*, pp. 339 ff. 472 ; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iii, 112 ff.). For the like custom among the *Syrians*, see Riehm, *Handwörterb. des Bibl. Altert.*, Art. *Aram*, where it is shown that the worship of the Aramæans was identical with that of the other Semitic nations. These references could of course be multiplied to a large extent, but there is no need for it, as it is acknowledged on all hands that the custom was universal among all early Semitic nations.

Of more immediate interest to our present purpose, however, is the witness of the Old Testament. The following references do not profess to be exhaustive. The story of the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter is much to the point, especially when one notices the following details : Judg. xi, 31 *it shall be, that whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, it shall be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt offering.* That Jephthah expected a human being to come forth rather than anything else seems, on the face of it, probable ; and this is confirmed by the expression **הַיּוֹצֵר אֲשֶׁר**, which is translated more naturally by "whoever," rather than by "whatsoever" ; and **קָרָא** (in the sense here used) is only employed in reference to the meeting of *persons*. In any case, the possibility, one may say probability, of its being a person must have been contemplated ; who more likely to come out and welcome the returning victor than those who had been left at home ? See Judg. v, 28, where the mother of Sisera is represented as awaiting at the window the

warrior's return ; 1 Sam. xviii, 6, where the women come out and welcome David and Saul on their return from battle. Secondly, when Jephthah says : *Alas, my daughter I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I cannot go back*, the answer of his daughter shows that she perfectly understood what he meant and what she had to expect, although her father had said nothing of the cause for which he had been brought very low ; this would appear to show that the custom of offering up a human being in sacrifice was not an unknown one. It is also worth noting that no protest of any kind was made, which rather points to the fact that such an offering was not regarded as in any way revolting.

The story of the death of Agag, though not so definite in its evidence, also deserves notice in this connection. After Samuel's rebuke to Saul, the latter answers : *Yea, I have obeyed the voice of the Lord, and have gone the way which the Lord sent me, and have brought Agag, the king of Amalek, and have utterly destroyed the Amalekites*. What was the point of bringing Agag, in obedience to the Lord ? In the light of Samuel's subsequent action, it is at least conceivable that the Amalekite king was intended as an offering to the Lord, for we read that *Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord* (1 Sam. xv, 33) ; שֶׁפֶּה is a root which, it is true, is not found elsewhere in the Old Testament, but in Lev. i, 17, a cognate root שָׁסַע is used in connection with sacrifice ; the LXX, moreover, renders שֶׁפֶּה by ἑσφαξε. This, taken with the following לִיהוָה, makes it practically certain that a sacrifice is here spoken of. It is also worth noticing that the scene of this occurrence is Gilgal, whither Saul had brought Agag ; Gilgal, as is well known, was one of the most notable sanctuaries in the land ; just the place where sacrifices of especial solemnity would be offered.*

Another instance of offering up a king taken in battle may possibly be referred to in Am. ii, 1, *because he burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime* ; it is true that the mere fact of burning a body was in itself sufficiently abhorrent to the prophets to call forth the prediction of judgment uttered by Amos ; it may, however, on the other hand, be asked what object would the

* Cf., among other passages, 1 Sam. xi, 15 ; xiii, 8 ff ; xv, 21, and in the prophetic books, Am. iv, 4 ; v, 5 ; Hos. xii, 12 (after the emendation לְשָׂרִים for יְשָׁרִים, see Wellhausen, *Die Kleinen Proph.*, p. 130), Hos. xiii, 2 ; Mic. vi, 5 ; though here Ewald and Wellhausen dispute the genuineness of the words in question, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 146.

Moabites have had, other than that of a sacrifice, in burning their captive?

We come now to consider the evidence which the Old Testament affords of the sacrifice of *children*. The story of the attempted sacrifice of Isaac will be considered below. The death of the first-born in Egypt, which might possibly be regarded as containing some faint echo of the custom under consideration, is not really to the point here, as the children are represented as having been slain by God, not as having been sacrificed to Him by man. There are, however, a number of other instances which may be referred to: II Kings, iii, 27. *Then he (the king of Moab) took his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the wall.* The object of this sacrifice was to secure the help of God at a grave crisis (*cf.* the legend of Il, the king of Byblus); it was a last desperate resource, and, from the Moabite point of view, proved successful, as the confederates, Israel, Judah and Edom, drew off and returned to their own land. The prohibitions contained in Lev. xviii, 21; xx, 2-4: *Thou shalt not give any of thy seed to make them pass through the fire to Moloch*, prove the existence of the practice. In I Kings, xvi, 34, there is the remarkable notice of Hiel the Bethelite building Jericho; *he laid the foundation thereof with the loss of Abiram his first-born, and set up the gates thereof with the loss of his youngest son, Segub*; this is spoken of as a fulfilment of the curse in Josh. vi, 26, but Jericho had been rebuilt long before, as in II Sam. x, 5, David bids his messengers stay at Jericho until their beards, which had been cut off by Hanun, king of Ammon, should have grown again; it must also be noticed that the reference to Hiel's action comes immediately after the enumeration of Ahab's misdeeds, notably his introduction of Baal-worship from Phœnicia, with its well-known rite of child-sacrifice. If Hiel was, however, offering his sons as a propitiatory sacrifice at this rebuilding or fortification of some part of Jericho, it was a sacrifice different in *character* to those referred to above.* The occurrence is only

* The writer is inclined to believe that this is an instance of the widely diffused custom of offering a human sacrifice on the site of a new building; in later times animals were offered, *e.g.*, horses, especially by the Scandinavians; a dim reminiscence survives, perhaps, in the figure of a cock so often seen on our church spires. That this theory of Hiel's action was held by others was not known to the writer at the time of writing. Subsequent reference to Cheyne's *Encycl. Bibl.* showed that the theory had already been propounded.

mentioned here as a further instance of human sacrifice of one kind or another. In II Kings xvi, 3, there is the mention of Ahaz, king of Judah, causing his son to pass through the fire* *according to the abominations of the heathen*. II Kings, xxii, 31, the Sepharrites, an Aramæan race, burned their children in the fire to their gods. II Kings xxi, 6, Manasseh, king of Judah, burned his son in sacrifice. The practice is further alluded to in II Kings ii, 5-17; xvii, 17; xxiii, 10; II Chron. vii, 31; xix, 5; xxii, 35; xxviii, 3; xxxiii, 6; Jer. vii, 31; xix, 5; xxxii, 35; Ezek. xvi, 20, 21; xx, 26; xxiii, 37; Ps. civ, 37, 38, and in the well-known passage in Mic. vi, 7: *Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?* The wide prevalence of this practice among the children of Israel cannot be doubted in view of these many references. But there is another class of passages which seem to throw light on the subject. Ex. xiii, 1: *Sanctify unto me all the first-born, whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel, both of man and of beast*; ver. 13, *All the first-born of man among thy sons shalt thou redeem*, a mitigation of the foregoing; see also Ex. xxxiv, 20; Num. iii, 46-51; xviii, 15, etc., etc. These passages, when considered in connection with the whole subject, certainly seem to offer corroborative evidence, though the influence of later times has softened the early practice; for if the first-born of both man and beast were sanctified unto the Lord, the latter being actually offered, while the former were redeemed by a money payment, one feels strongly inclined to believe that the redemption of the first-born son was a later mitigation of the ancient and more cruel custom.

II.

We come now to deal with the story of the sacrifice of Isaac, and the following considerations are important. The *idea* of child-sacrifice is by it shown to have been prevalent; as in the case of the story of the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter, it is inconceivable that no protest should have been made if the custom had been hitherto unknown among the Israelites. For God to have commanded a thing which was essentially wicked in the eyes of men

* With regard to the question as to whether העביר implied merely a purificatory ceremony or an actual sacrifice, there can be little doubt about the latter being the correct view, the object was to propitiate the god, and as such purification only, on the part of the victim, would be meaningless.

would have been as incredible in those days as in these. When, therefore, the narrative represents God as commanding Abraham to offer his son up as a burnt-offering, Abraham must have believed that he was about to do a righteous action; as a matter of fact, so far from thinking such an act wicked, the early Semites considered a sacrifice of that kind to be the very highest honour they could possibly pay to their god. Again, if, as there is reason to believe from the evidence referred to above, child-sacrifice was practised by all Semitic races, then it is well to remember that in the Old Testament itself Abraham is represented as having been brought up amid those to whom this practice was familiar, *cf.* Josh. xxiv, 2: *Your fathers dwelt of old time beyond the River, even Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor; and they served other gods.* It will, of course, be urged that the whole episode is told in order to show Abraham's faith (Gen. xxii, 1: *And it came to pass after these things that God did prove Abraham . . .*); but the conception of faith in this sense is one which is much too advanced for these early times. One may ask, moreover, wherein this faith was shown forth? If it be answered, by obedience to God's command (xxii, 18, . . . *because thou hast obeyed my voice*), then the reply is this: if the obedience consisted in doing what was revolting and repugnant to his moral sense, then Abraham could not have regarded the command as coming from a God whom he worshipped and honoured, and therefore he would not have obeyed the command; if, on the other hand, his obedience consisted in doing what was on all hands acknowledged to be a special honour due to God, then there could have been no trial of faith. Once more, the idea of offering sacrifice in *obedience* to God, is likewise a later conception; among early peoples the essence of sacrifice was either that they might have community with the deity by partaking of a sacrificial meal (זבח), or else that the deity might be propitiated thereby (עלה). It will therefore be seen that the story before us contains two elements: on the one hand, the primitive conception of propitiating the deity by means of the sacrifice of the first-born son; on the other hand, advanced ideas, belonging to a much later time, on faith and obedience; so that if one approaches the subject with an unbiassed and impartial mind, the conclusion is irresistible, that we have here a very ancient tradition moulded for a special purpose, to suit the changing conditions of his time, by one who lived centuries later.

We have next to inquire as to the approximate date of the narrative in its later form, for this (it may be affirmed) will throw light on the object for which the story was re-written. It will, however, be necessary first to draw attention to another point. In the instances of human sacrifice cited above from the Old Testament there is this striking fact, viz., that from the reign of David until that of Ahab there is not the slightest reference to anything in the shape of human sacrifice; roughly speaking, this is a period of about 125 years. Previous to the reign of David we have at any rate the cases of Agag, of Jephthah's daughter, and the sacrifice of Isaac; that there should not be more references of the kind is not to be wondered at, when one remembers the amount of redaction that the books of the Old Testament have been subjected to.* The spirit of the later times could not countenance many things which in earlier years were not repugnant, and, therefore (very rightly), editors expunged from, altered, and added to, the traditions which had been handed down, so as to make them accord better with the more advanced ideas of morality, and of the general fitness of things which was characteristic of later generations. The wonder is rather that any traces at all should have been left of the practice of human sacrifice among the Israelites, and, possibly, the three that are left owe it to their connection with Abraham, Jephthah, and Samuel, all Israelite heroes. After the accession of Ahab, the practice seems to increase more and more.

And now to return once more to the story of Isaac; some guidance as to fixing its date is contained in the narrative itself (we speak, of course, of its *present* form); we have seen that the conceptions of faith and obedience which it shows are of a much later date than the story in its primitive form; it is also clear from the story that child-sacrifice had ceased in Israel; therefore it must have been written subsequently to the reign of David at the earliest. On the other hand, it is very strange that there is no denunciation of the practice; the writer, as already pointed out, contemplates the sacrifice of Isaac without a word of protest; this would be inconceivable in the time of the prophets. One may, therefore, safely infer that the narrative is earlier than the prophetic period. It will then be seen that there is a high probability of the story having assumed its present form during the period mentioned above,

* As already pointed out, human sacrifice, as *normally* practised, was of rare occurrence comparatively speaking.

between the reigns of David and Ahab, just during the time, that is, when child-sacrifice was in abeyance.

III.

Very tentatively, and realizing that there are some strong objections which can be urged, the writer ventures to hold the following theory as to the origin and object of the narrative of the sacrifice of Isaac :—

- (i) There was an ancient tradition of the patriarch Abraham having offered up his son as a propitiatory sacrifice to the deity. This was the basis on which the narrative was founded.
- (ii) The compiler saw that although human sacrifice was prevalent among the surrounding nations, it had been discontinued in Israel; how was this to be accounted for? Clearly, to the compiler's mind, such a change must have had the sanction of the national god. Knowing the tradition which was current about Abraham and the sacrifice of his first-born, the compiler interpreted it as being the occasion of the divine interposition which resulted in the discontinuance of human sacrifice; and, in accordance with his conviction, added some details, in perfect good faith, calculated to press home the lesson which (as he believed) the original occurrence was intended to convey.
- (iii) The compiler perceived, furthermore, that there was a growing tendency in Israel to assimilate the religious practices of the surrounding nations. This gave a further and even stronger reason to show that the God of Israel had Himself interposed to stop the ancient usage of their forefathers, and that, therefore, the practice ought not to be resuscitated.

TYPES OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN DRAUGHTS-MEN.

BY E. TOWRY-WHYTE, *M.A., F.S.A.*

The draughts-men illustrated on the accompanying Plates show some of the types that were in use at various periods of Egyptian history. As regards the game of draughts and the mode of playing it, but little is known. The draughts-boards were divided into squares. Several specimens are known, but I will not describe them as I understand that a paper on the subject will appear at a future date. There are several representations in sculpture and fresco of the game being played—at Thebes and at Beni Hasan for example. Dr. Birch, in his edition of Sir J. Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, mentions a draughts-man in the British Museum, No. 6143, with a human head, which, he says, no doubt represents  *tcha*, or "the robber." This type is probably represented by Pl. I, fig. 1, as it is very similar to the one referred to by Dr. Birch. Pl. I, fig. 10 is a most magnificent, red jasper, lion's head, having engraved on the top of the head a cartouche with the prenomen of Queen Hatasou, of the XVIIIth dynasty, and round the back of the neck is a longer cartouche (part of which appears to have been ground out) with the name of the same queen. Of the same style and probably the same date is Pl. II, fig. 16, it being one of a number brought from Egypt some years ago by the late Mr. Greville Chester, some of which were of ebony, and one of ivory. The majority of these draughts-men are now in the British Museum. Private names as well as royal ones sometimes occur, as for instance Pl. I, fig. 8, which bears the name of a scribe named *Pai*; Pl. I, fig. 12 is an interesting and probably early type. The commonest shapes are small cones with a knob at the top, as for instance Pl. I, fig. 7, and Pl. I, fig. 9. A favourite shape is shown on Pl. I, fig. 14. Cones without knobs also frequently occur, as in Pl. I, fig. 2, and Pl. II, fig. 14. Reels were

also a favourite form, as Pl. II, figs. 1, 6. Of the rarer kinds are those representing heads of different sorts, such as Bes, Pl. I, figs. 3, 4; or human heads, Pl. I, figs. 6, 13, the former representing an archer. Sometimes captives, negro or Asiatic, are represented. Animals are represented, for example the jackal's head, Pl. I, fig. 5, and what appears to be intended for a monkey or a dog, Pl. II, fig. 2. In the British Museum is one with a ram's head, made of a faïence glazed a pale green. Birds' heads are also used, as Pl. II, fig. 17, which has the head of a hawk; these are usually mounted on circular bases. Flowers are represented, as in Pl. I, fig. 9, and Pl. II, fig. 7. If these really are draughts-men, the former can never have been intended to be played with, because owing to its rounded base it will not stand; it must therefore have been a funeral one, and meant for the use of the *ka* only. Draughts-men were made of various materials, but faïence with different coloured glazes is by far the commonest. Sometimes these faïence draughts-men are decorated with coloured "slip," as for instance Pl. II, fig. 8, where the raised dots are black or very dark purple; and Pl. I, fig. 1, where the wig is yellow and the rest has been pale blue, now gone green. The illustrations given on the plates by no means exhaust the varieties that are found, but they serve to give an idea of the various shapes met with. The following descriptive list of the plates gives the material of which the draughts-men illustrated are made, and as far as possible the locality they came from. All the figures are the same size as the originals.

PLATE I.

1. Wig yellow, the rest pale blue faïence; gone green. Bubastis.
2. Ivory, circular, turned. Thebes.
3. Dull green faïence, circular base. Thebes.
4. Dull blue faïence, gone green, circular base; beneath is a hole. Saqqâra.
5. Pale blue faïence, well modelled, circular. Bubastis.
6. Pale blue faïence, gone white, circular. Bubastis.
7. Ivory, circular, turned. Thebes.
8. Steatite, glazed white; inscribed with the name of *Pai*, a scribe (?)
9. Pale blue faïence, circular, rounded base.
10. Red jasper; inscribed with name and prenomen of Queen Hatasou, of the XVIIIth dynasty.



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



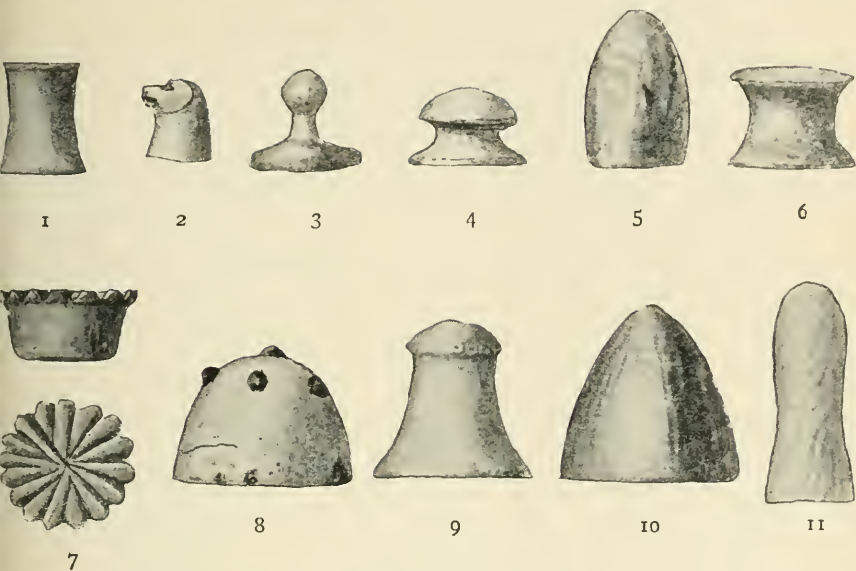
13



14

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN DRAUGHTS-MEN.
Belonging to F. G. Hilton Price, *Dir.S.A.*

PLATE II.



ANCIENT EGYPTIAN DRAUGHTS-MEN.
 Belonging to F. G. Hilton Price, *Dir.S.A.*



ANCIENT EGYPTIAN DRAUGHTS-MEN.
 Belonging to E. Towry Whyte, *M.A., F.S.A.*

11. Alabaster, circular, roughly cut. Bubastis.
12. Blue faïence, circular. Luxor.
13. Dark blue faïence, oval in section. Thebes.
14. Green faïence, circular. Bubastis.

PLATE II.

1. Blue faïence, circular.
2. Green faïence, circular base. Thebes.
3. Dark blue glass, slightly iridescent.
4. Pale blue faïence, circular. Bubastis.
5. Carnelian, circular.
6. Dark blue (nearly black) faïence. Thebes.
7. Slate-grey faïence, flat top. Bubastis.
8. Bright blue faïence, with six black dots in slip (?), circular.
9. Green faïence, circular. Bubastis.
10. Green jasper, polished, circular. Bubastis.
11. White alabaster, circular. Thebes.
12. Pale blue faïence.
13. Pale blue faïence.
14. Turquoise-blue glass. Hexagon.
15. Greenish-blue faïence.
16. Hard wood, resembling box-wood.
17. Faïence, glaze destroyed, probably pale green.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday, November 12th, 1902, at 4.30 p.m.

The Title of the Paper to be read at this Meeting will be announced later.



Society of Biblical Archaeology.

NOTICE.

Subscriptions to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount, £1 is., at once to the Secretary.

THE LIBRARY.

BOOK-BINDING FUND.

The request for Subscriptions towards the cost of binding some, at least, of the books in the Society's library, has met with the following response:—

	£	s.	d.
Rev. C. H. W. Johns	5	0	0
W. E. Crum	5	0	0
Rev. Jas. Marshall	5	0	0
Jon. L. Evans	5	0	0
W. H. Rylands	5	0	0
The Rt. Rev. The Bishop of Shrewsbury	2	2	0
Miss L. Kennedy	1	1	0
The Hon. Miss Plunket	1	0	0
W. Morrison	5	0	0
Rev. Dr Löwy	1	1	0
Maxwell Close	5	0	0
A. Peckover	5	0	0
Miss Peckover	5	0	0
J. Pollard	5	0	0
F. C. Burkitt	1	0	0
Miss Izod	1	0	0
T. Christy	1	0	0
Dr. Gaster	0	10	0

It is hoped that other Members may be willing to assist in carrying out this—most urgently needed—work.

W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A.,

Secretary.

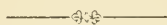
PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-SECOND SESSION, 1902.

Sixth Meeting, 12th November, 1902.

SIR H. H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E., F.R.S.*,

IN THE CHAIR.



The Chairman expressed the great regret of the Council, at the death of the following distinguished Members of the Society:—

Rev. GEORGE RAWLINSON, D.D., Canon of Canterbury, Vice-President of the Society. Born 1812; died October 6th, 1902.

JOHN HALL GLADSTONE, Ph.D., F.R.S., Member of the Council. Born 1826; died October, 1902.

P. J. DE HORRACK, of Paris, Hon. Member of the Society. Born 1820; died October 5th, 1902.

E. SYER CUMING, F.S.A. Scot., &c. Born 1817; died October, 1902.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From F. Legge :—A History of Egypt. By E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., D.Litt. 8 vols. 8vo. London, 1902.

From the Author :—Sir W. T. Charley, Kt. The Holy City, Athens, and Egypt. 8vo. London, 1902.

From the Author :—The Temples of the Orient and their Message. 8vo. London, 1902.

From the Author :—Arthur John Booth, M.A. The Discovery and Decipherment of the Trilingual Cuneiform Inscriptions. 8vo. London, 1902.

From the Author :—Rev W. O. E. Oesterley, M.A. Studies in the Greek and Latin versions of the Book of Amos. 8vo. London, 1902.

From the Author :—Émile Soldi Colbert de Beaulieu. La langue sacrée. 8vo. Paris, 1902.

From the Author :—Aug. Baillet. Vases Égyptiens de la Collection Desnoyers.

From the Author :—Philippe Virey. Quelques observations sur l'Épisode d'Aristée. 8vo. Paris, 1902.

From the Author :—The real origin of Religion. 8vo. London, 1902.

From the Author :—Dr. Hayes Ward. Altars and Sacrifices in the Primitive Art of Babylonia. 8vo.

From the Author :—Major Gen. Sir C. W. Wilson, R.E., K.C.B., etc. The Water Supply of Jerusalem. 8vo. London. (*Journal of the Victoria Institute*, May, 1902.)

From the Author :—Rev. C. S. de Cara, S.J. Di alcuni criterii incerti nella Paletnologia Archeologia e storia antica. *Civiltà Cattolica*, July, Aug., Sept., Oct. 8vo. 1902.

From the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Salisbury :—The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar according to the Coptic Rite. Edited with translations from a Coptic and Arabic Manuscript of A.D. 1307, for the Bishop of Salisbury, by the Rev. G. Horner. 8vo. London, 1902.

From the Author:—Philippe Virey. Sur quelques données Égyptiennes introduites par les Grecs dans le développement de leur mythe d'Hercule. (*Ann. de l'Académie de Macon.*) 8vo. Macon, 1902.

From the Author:—Paul Haupt. Biblical Love-Ditties; a Critical Interpretation, and Translation, of the Song of Solomon. 8vo. Chicago, 1902.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society:—

Mrs. Finn, The Elms, 75, Brook Green, W.
F. W. Green, Thornfield, Tunbridge Wells.
Albert Pam, 18, Park Hill, Clapham Park, S.W.
Rev. A. B. Parry-Evans, The Vicarage, Uttoxeter.
Herbert J. Rigg, 13, Queen's Gate Place S.W.
Martin L. Rouse, Hollybank, Hayne Road, Beckenham.

The following Papers were read:—

F. LEGGE: "The Congress of Orientalists, 1902."

DR. PINCHES: "A few Remarks upon Hammurabi's Code of Laws."

PROF. PETRIE: "Some Remarks on the XIXth Egyptian Dynasty."

A discussion followed these Papers, in which the Rev. J. Marshall, Mr. Boscawen, Dr. Gaster, Dr. Pinches, the Rev. Dr. Walker, and the Chairman, took part.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE, LL.D.

(Continued from page 204.)

CHAPTER CXLVII.

The first gate. The name of the doorkeeper is: he whose face is overturned, who has many attributes. The name of its warder is: the adjuster. The name of the herald is: he with a loud voice.

Said by *N* when he approaches the first gate.

I am the mighty one, who createth his own light. (1)

I come to thee, Osiris, and I worship thee.

Pure are thine effluxes, which flow from thee, and which make thy name in Restau (2) when it hath passed there,

Hail to thee, Osiris.

Arise, thou art mighty, Osiris, in Abydos.

Thou goest round the sky, thou sailest with Rā, thou surveyest mankind, thou art alone going round with Rā, for thou art called Osiris.

I am the divine mummy. What I say takes place.

I shall not be driven back from it (the gate); its walls of burning coals show the way in Restau. I have soothed the pain of Osiris, when he supports him who balances his pedestal, when he arrives from the great valley. I have made my way to the light of Osiris.(3)

The second gate. The name of the doorkeeper is: he who shows his face. The name of its warder is: he with a revolving face. The name of the herald is: the consumer.

Said by *N* when he approaches the second gate. He sitteth and acts in accordance with the desire of his heart, weighing the

words as the second of Thoth. The attributes of *N* are those of Thoth. When faint the Maāt gods, the hidden ones who live on truth, whose years are those of Osiris, (still) I am mighty in offerings at the appointed time. I have made my way out of the fire. I march, I have made my way. Grant that I may pass on freely, that I may see Rā among those who give offerings.

The third gate. The name of the doorkeeper is: he who eateth his own filth. The name of its warder is: the watchful. The name of the herald is: the great one.

Said by *N* when he approaches the third gate.

I am he whose stream is secret, who judgeth the Rehui. I have come to remove all evil from Osiris.

I am the girdled (4) at his appointed time, coming forth with the double crown.

I secured firmly my suit in Abydos, and I opened my path in Restau. I have soothed the pain of Osiris who balances his pedestal. I have made my way when he shines at Restau.

The fourth gate. The name of the doorkeeper is: he who opposes garrulity. The name of its warder is: the attentive one. The name of the herald is: he who drives back the crocodile.

Said by *N* when he approaches the fourth gate.

I am the bull, (5) the son of the Kite of Osiris. Behold, his father the Fiery One sat in judgment. I poised the balance for him. Life has been brought to me. I live for ever. I have made my way. I am the son of Osiris, I live for ever.

The fifth gate. The name of the doorkeeper is: he who lives on worms. The name of the warder is: the consuming flame. The name of the herald is: the bow which strikes the furious (?).

Said by *N* when he approaches the fifth gate.

I have brought the two jaws of Restau. (6) I have brought to thee the books (?) which are in the Annu, and I add up for him his hosts. I have repulsed Apepi and healed the wounds he made. I made my way through the midst of you. I am the great one among the gods. I purified Osiris. I restored him as victor. I joined his bones, and put together his limbs.

The sixth gate. The name of the doorkeeper is: he who makes the loaves, with a thundering voice. The name of its warder is: he

who shows his face. The name of the herald is: the stolen knife which belongs to the sky.

Said by *N* when he approaches the sixth gate.

I come every day, I go. I who was created by Anubis, I am the lord of the diadem. I ignore the magic words (however), I avenge Maât, I avenge his eye. I gave his eye to Osiris himself. I have made my way. *N* goes along with you.

The seventh gate. The name of the doorkeeper is: he who takes possession of their knives. The name of its warder is: he with a high voice. The name of the herald: he who drives back the enemies.

Said by *N* when he approaches the seventh gate.

I have come to thee, Osiris, (7) pure are thine effluxes. Thou goest round and thou seest the sky with Râ. Thou seest mankind, thou the only one. Thou addressest Râ in the Sektit boat of the sky, when he goes round the horizon. I say what I wish, my mummy is mighty. What I say takes place like what he says. I shall not be driven back from thee. I have made my way.

Said near the seven gates. (8) When the deceased arrives at the pylons, he is not driven back, nor repulsed from Osiris. It is given him to be among the glorious ones, the most excellent of them, so that he may have dominion over the first followers of Osiris.

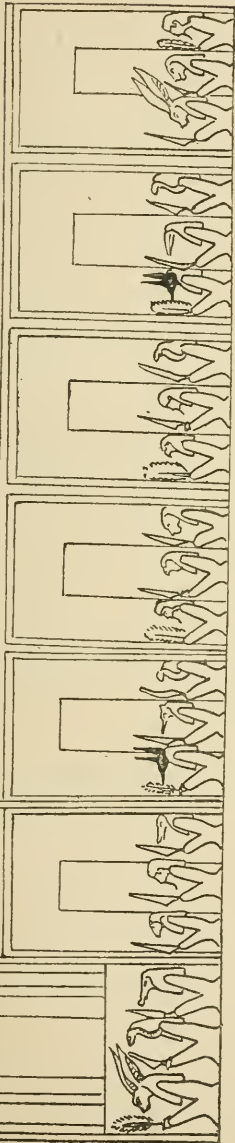
Every deceased to whom this chapter is read is like the lord of eternity, he is of one substance with Osiris, and in no place has he to encounter a great fight.

NOTES.

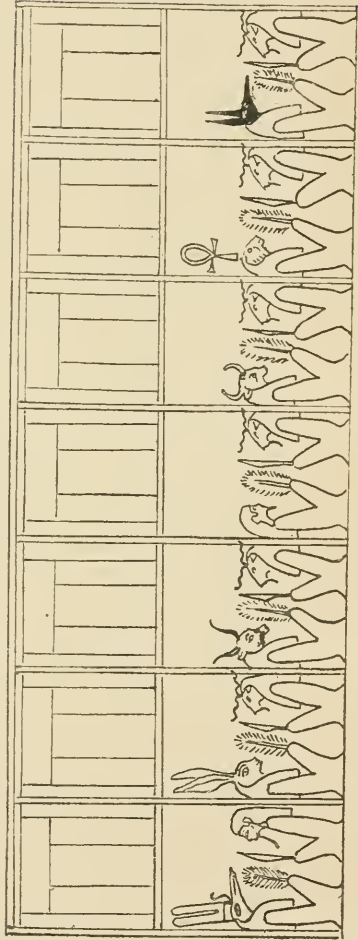
Chapter 147 is very like 144, in fact, it is the same more developed. It refers also to the seven gates; and whenever the deceased approaches one of the gates, he has to say the name of the doorkeeper, which, as we saw before, is that of the gate itself; and also the name of the warder and that of the herald. Besides the deceased has to address the gate, probably in order to open it so that he may pass through. The words he utters are found in chapters 117, 119 and 136B. The two first have nearly the same title, *the arrival at Restau*, near Abydos. If, as is most probable, the various parts of the Book of the Dead did not originate in the same place, we may

PLATE XLVIII.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

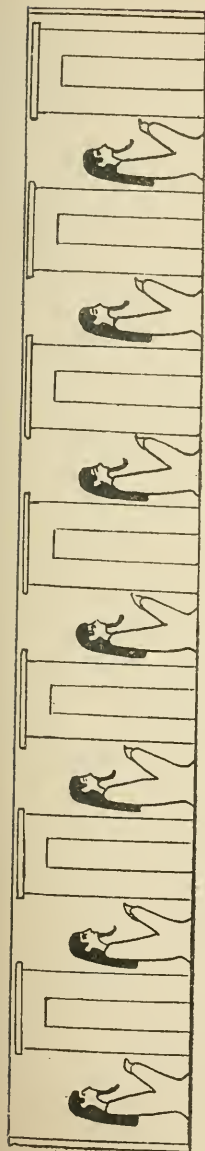


CHAPTERS CXLIV AND CXLVII. Papyrus of Ani.

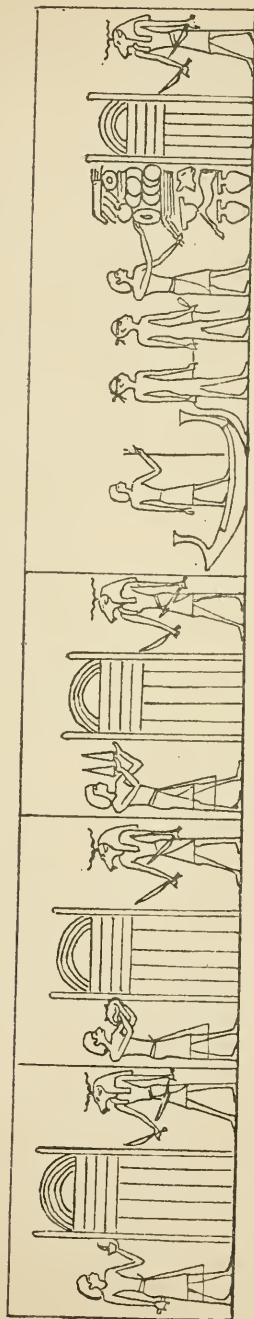


CHAPTERS CXLIV AND CXLVII. Papyrus, Gizeh Museum, No. 21.

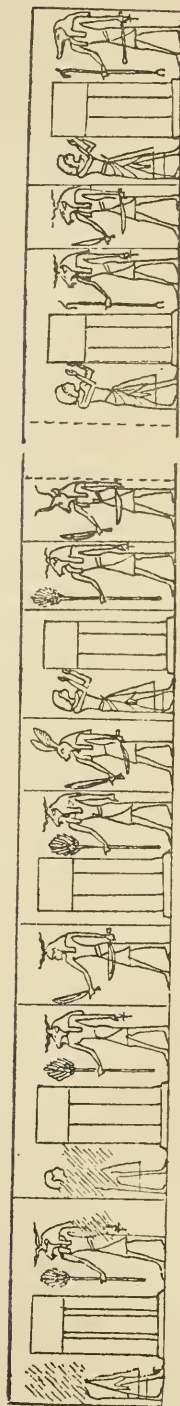
THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER CXLVII. Papyrus, Leyden, No. VI.



CHAPTER CXLVII. Louvre, III, 8-9.



CHAPTERS CXLIV AND CXLVII. British Museum. Papyrus No. 9900.



safely assert that these chapters, as well as those of the gates and the pylons, come from Abydos.

On the whole the Papyrus of Ani is more complete for chapter 147 than the Leyden text *Lc* which is published in my edition. Therefore this chapter has been translated from Ani, using *Lc* whenever Ani is too corrupt.

1. Chapter 119, *vide* p. 206, "Chapter whereby one entereth and goeth forth from Restau."

2. I should translate: *which give to Restau its name*. This is an instance of those wonderful etymologies often met with in religious texts. From the word  to *flow*, is derived the name



3. The Osiris of the first gate whom the deceased addresses seems to be the moon. The word  is often used in speaking of the pale and silvery light of the moon (Naviile, *Litanie du soleil*, p. 54).

The last sentences are found in chapter 117, line 3.

4. Chapter 117.

5. Chapter 136B, line 14.

6. Chapter 136B, line 18. I repeat Renouf's translation, though I differ from him in various points. For instance, I should translate: *I have closed the doors in Restau* (*cf.* Inscr. of Piankhi, line 104).

7. An abridged version of chapter 119.

8. The rubric is taken from the Paris papyrus *Pc*.

There also the vignettes vary considerably according to the fancy of the artist. In *Lc* the gates and the gods are all alike. In *Pc* the god is always represented in human form with a ram's head. In the Papyrus of Ani, where there are three figures for each gate, these figures are all different.

(*To be continued.*)

A PRE-MASSORETIC HEBREW PAPYRUS.

BY STANLEY A. COOK, *M.A.*

19th October, 1902.

DEAR MR. NASH,

I have made a preliminary study of your Hebrew papyrus, and have no doubt that a brief account of its contents will be of interest not only to yourself, but also to the readers of the *Proceedings*. Hebrew papyri are not common, and I imagine that a Hebrew biblical papyrus (as yours actually is) must be unique.

The papyrus contains the Decalogue followed by Deuteronomy, chap. vi, verse 4 and the commencement of verse 5. Fragmentary though it is, it is of the greatest interest, inasmuch as, to judge from the general appearance of the papyrus and from the palæography, it is by far the oldest fragment of any Hebrew Biblical text yet known. In addition to this, the text differs more markedly from our Massoretic Text than any extant Hebrew manuscript, and these differences do not merely relate to such trifling details as the use of the *scriptio plena* or *defectiva*, but are actual variants of the most noteworthy character. As examples, I may mention that the prohibition of adultery precedes that of murder (compare Luke, chap. xviii, verse 20), that Deut., chap. vi, verse 4 has the fuller form as found in the Septuagint, and that the text of the well-known *Shema'* ("Hear, O Israel, etc.") departs slightly from the Massoretic Text. The text of the Decalogue follows, on the whole, the recension in Exodus rather than that in Deuteronomy, and the majority of the variants are found to agree with the Septuagint. But the text is not a translation, and the obvious inference is that it represents a distinct recension, and one which from its very nature must be regarded as pre-Massoretic.

There are many interesting points raised by this papyrus, a fuller discussion of which is impossible within the limits of this short note, and must be reserved for another occasion. In the meanwhile I think I shall not be guilty of exaggeration if I describe this pre-Massoretic text as one of the most illuminating and welcome "finds" of recent years.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

STANLEY A. COOK.

THE HISTORY OF THE transliteration OF EGYPTIAN.

By F. LEGGE.

The Necessity for Transliteration.

The Egyptians, like every race of man yet known to us, expressed their spoken thoughts in words and sentences, but they did not write in words and sentences. Their inscriptions present a continuous series of signs arranged in rows or lines, but without any division to show where one word leaves off and another begins. In this they were paralleled, and perhaps copied, by the nations of classical antiquity, who never thoroughly adopted the division of a lengthy text into words until close upon the invention of printing.¹ Hence it is necessary, in the case of a Greek or Latin MS., that the lines should be broken up into their component words, and the sentences distinguished by punctuation, before it can be profitably submitted to the general body of scholars. But in a hieroglyphic inscription there is an additional difficulty. Words in a language unfamiliar to us—as Egyptian must necessarily be to most—cannot be retained in the memory, nor their affinity with other words recognised, until they have been sounded or spoken, and a hieroglyphic inscription cannot readily be resolved into a mere series of sounds. Besides alphabetical characters, or letters representing each a single sound, it contains syllabic signs and ideograms which must be expanded, and determinative and complementary signs which must be eliminated, before the equivalent sounds denoted by the group of hieroglyphs can appear. If we take, for example, the following

sentence. 

¹ Sir Edward M. Thompson (*Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, London, 1893, p. 65) says that the Latin scribes did not divide their MSS. into words until the eleventh century, nor the Greeks till later. On mural inscriptions the words are often divided by dots as in the Persian cuneiform (*cf.* King, *Assyrian Language*, London, 1901, p. 42).

we find that the signs marked + must be expanded into the syllables *pa, sen, âa, her, kheper, mâ, âb, gem* respectively, and those marked — must be struck out before the words *paif sen âa her kheperu mâ âbu gemâtu*,² to which it corresponds, can be formed. It takes with most people daily practice in the reading of hieroglyphics before this process of expansion and elimination can be performed without pen, ink, and paper, or, as we say, in the head, and this, I believe, is the principal reason why some system of transliteration is necessary.

Champollion and the Coptic System.

The first systematic attempt to express all the sounds of the Egyptian language in a European script was made by Champollion in 1822. This is represented by the alphabet reproduced on Pl. I, which gives, as will be seen, 117 hieroglyphic signs arranged to correspond with their supposed equivalents in the Greek alphabet. It must not, however, be thought from this that Champollion at any time thought of transcribing hieroglyphic signs into Greek letters. In the *Lettre à M. Dacier*, from which this is copied, he tells us that it was formed from his study of the Rosetta Stone and of certain obelisks containing, like it, bilingual inscriptions consisting of both hieroglyphs and Greek characters, and that he constructed it from a collation of the signs in the royal cartouches there appearing with the names of the Greek kings. At that time he was under the impression that the Egyptians used a special alphabet for writing these royal names, and it was not until he had worked with this for some time that the great discovery, which will always prove his chief title to fame, dawned upon him, that is to say, that the language of the hieroglyphs was essentially the same as the Coptic still spoken in Egypt in his day. This, as we all know, proved to be the key which enabled him to solve the long-lost mystery of hieroglyphic writing, and when his *Grammaire Égyptienne* was published in 1835, there was included in it a list of 232 phonetic signs arranged, as is there said, to correspond with the articulations of the Coptic tongue. In this list, which is reproduced in Pl. II, all the signs which correspond to the letters of the Egyptian alphabet appear, but he was, of course, wrong in supposing the remainder to be

² "His elder brother became like a panther of the south" (from the *Tale of Two Brothers*). Budge: *Easy Lessons in Egyptian Hieroglyphics*, London, 1899, p. 38.

nothing else than variants of them. Some of them, as will be seen, are not phonetic signs at all, but are either ideograms or determinatives, while by far the greater number are syllabic signs. Into this mistake he was led through placing too great reliance upon the principle of acrophony, or, in other words, by concluding that these syllabics were used alphabetically as indicating the first letter of the word denoted by them. That it was in this way that the hieroglyphic alphabet was created from signs until then syllabic, there can be no doubt, but this process was accomplished long before the date of the earliest inscriptions known to us.³ Two years after the appearance of Champollion's *Grammaire*, Lepsius published his letter to Signor Rosellini, in which he pointed out that only 34 of Champollion's phonetic signs were really alphabetical, or corresponded to single sounds of the Coptic alphabet. The alphabet which he thus formed and arranged in the order of the Coptic letters (Pl. III, fig. 1) is almost that used at the present day, although the values of a few of the signs have been altered as our knowledge of Egyptian texts has become fuller.

This theory of Lepsius as to the alphabetic use of certain signs was admitted by the school of Champollion,⁴ and has formed the base of every system of transliteration adopted since it was put forward. But for some time longer his pupils continued to transcribe all hieroglyphic texts before translation into Coptic letters. In doing so they believed themselves to be treading the path indicated by the Egyptians themselves in the early centuries of our era, who then abandoned the use of their clumsy and illegible demotic script, and began to transcribe their words by means of the Greek alphabet with the addition of six characters intended to express sounds not used by the Greeks. No one has ever denied that some knowledge of the Coptic language forms the best introduction to the study of ancient Egyptian, and the Coptic transliteration had the advantage at once of providing an international standard of pronunciation, and of giving to Egyptian words the vocalization which they had acquired

³ In Loret's *Manuel de la Langue égyptienne*, Paris, 1889, p. 19, this is said, I know not on what authority, to have been the work of a college of scholars assembled at the beginning of the Old Empire. It had, at any rate, been complete before the earliest inscriptions of Abydos. It is indeed plain that this must have been the process of formation with all primitive alphabets. The Hebrew ג (gimel), for instance, must have meant "camel" long before it came to be used as the sign of the sound G.

⁴ Champollion died in 1832, and the *Grammaire* was published posthumously.

in Roman times. The permanent disadvantage attaching to it was that it was difficult, when the Coptic transliteration was largely used, to tell whether the words written in it were to be treated as Coptic or as ancient Egyptian. Chabas, who of all Champollion's successors was the most resolute adherent of the Coptic system, thought that this difficulty might be overcome by using two different founts of Coptic type,⁵ and continued to make use of the Coptic alphabet for transliteration down to his death in 1882.

Roman Transliteration before the Standard system.

There were, however, two objections to the use of Coptic for transliteration in former times which have now lost nearly all their force. One was that Coptic type was excessively rare, and only a few large towns, such as Paris and Turin, possessed a fount. Hence when it was wished to reproduce in print even a few lines of Coptic transcription, the type had either to be borrowed, or the author's MS. to be facsimiled, involving in either case delay and expense. The other objection was that at first many sceptics, including Sir George Cornewall Lewis, would not believe that Egyptologists had really solved the mystery of hieroglyphic writing, and hence, it was argued, it was advisable to use a transcription with letters familiar to everybody, so that they might see for themselves that all the transcriptions agreed, and were not mere guesses peculiar to individual scholars. This argument moved even the iron Chabas, and in his study of the Harris Magic Papyrus he went to the pains of using a double system of transliteration, first into Coptic letters for the use of the learned, and then into Roman for those who were not Egyptologists. The alphabet which he used for this purpose is given in Pl. III, fig. 2, and forms perhaps the *ne plus ultra* of the Coptic system. Other scholars found it simpler to use the Roman transliteration alone, and this practically resolved itself into every

⁵ See Chabas' correspondence with Lepsius in Maspero's *Bibl. Égyptologique*, t. IX, pp. liii, *seq.* This suggestion could be more easily adopted now that we have, in many presses, the new Coptic type as well as the more clumsy one first founded for the so-called Bashmuri characters. But the greatest difficulty arises in hand-written transcriptions. Most people, from their greater acquaintance with Greek, find much difficulty in making in their own writing any marked distinction between those letters which the Greek and Coptic alphabets have in common. Perhaps this could be overcome by drawing a line above those words and letters which were not Coptic, as the scribes have done in the collection of extracts called the *Pistis Sophia*.

man making an alphabet for himself, and, in some cases, a different alphabet for every text translated. A good example of the confusion to which this led can be seen in Pl. III, fig. 3, where three alphabets used by Deveria in 1857, 1858, and 1865 are shown. That adopted by Bunsen (Pl. III, fig. 4) in the first vol. of his *Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte* (Eng. edition, 1848) is chiefly remarkable as having reduced the hieroglyphic alphabet to seventeen sounds, one of which he expressed by a Greek and another by a Coptic character. This was taken by Lepsius as the base of the system to be next described, from which all the transliterations used by modern Egyptologists have evolved.⁶

The Standard System and its Modern Derivatives.

It was in 1854 that Lepsius brought forward, at a conference in London summoned by Bunsen, his proposals for a universal standard alphabet to be used by scholars of all nations for the reduction "into European [*i.e.*, Latin] letters of foreign graphic systems and unwritten languages." The conference separated without coming to any decision, chiefly because they could not agree as to a means of expressing those sounds which were not denoted with sufficient accuracy by the letters of the Latin alphabet.⁷ But Lepsius was more fortunate in persuading the Berlin Academy to support his system, and in the end nearly all the Egyptologists then living—with the exception of Chabas—adopted his alphabet. In his original proposal he had further reduced the sounds of the Egyptian language to fifteen (Pl. IV, fig. 1), but afterwards agreed to increase these to twenty-eight, and his final form of it is shown in Pl. IV, fig. 2.⁸ In many of the distinctions he wished to introduce he has not been followed by later Egyptologists, as will be seen by a comparison of the alphabets in Pl. IV, which include, I think, all those based on the standard alphabet from the time of de Rougé down to that of Dr. Budge and the Egypt Exploration Fund's Archæological Survey.

⁶ With the exception of that used by Birch in the 4th volume of Bunsen's *Ægyptens Stelle* referred to in the text. This is, in effect, the syllabic system of Champollion.

⁷ Lepsius proposed that each such sound should be represented by the European letter nearest in sound, differentiated by a diacritical mark. Max Müller thought that italic letters should be used for the same purpose.

⁸ It was formally adopted at the Second International Congress of Orientalists (London, 1874).

There can be no doubt that Lepsius rendered a great service to science by practically fixing an international standard for pronunciation or clearing-house for sounds, and thereby enabling us to see at a glance, and irrespective of our own tongue, exactly what sound is denoted by every character. His system is also very easy to learn, and only imposes on the beginner the task of making himself acquainted with some half-dozen characters beyond those with which he is already familiar. For the same reason it is very easy to write, as, with the exception of the χ , no characters but Latin letters are used, and the diacritical marks or points can be added even after the transcription is complete in other respects. On the other hand many of these advantages vanish when the transcription gets into print. The dots and accents then become increasingly difficult to see without a lens, while the differentiated letters soon lose their distinguishing marks, making the constant founding of new type necessary. For the idea of Lepsius that all the characters in his alphabet could be denoted by the types of ordinary presses has not been realized, and it has been found necessary wherever diacritical points are used to cast type especially made to show them. But perhaps the worst fault that can be found with the diacritical system is that it constantly suggests to the student sounds other than those which the letters are intended to express: as, for instance, when an Englishman would expect from the character t' some sound resembling t , and is told that it represents dj or z . For these reasons there has of late been a tendency to abandon the system of diacritical marks, and to return to the method of expressing unfamiliar sounds by a combination of two or more Latin letters. The last transliterations adopted by Dr. Budge and the British Museum afford a good instance of this, as in these the letters distinguished by diacritical marks are reduced from the eight in Lepsius' 1862 alphabet to five and three respectively.

Modern Systems without Diacritical Marks.

The first Egyptologist now living to throw over the system of diacritical marks altogether was M. Maspero. As he has lately told us,⁹ he began his study of the science to which he has perhaps contributed more than any scholar since Champollion, with a grammar and dictionary compiled by himself. These have not yet been

⁹ *Bibl. Égyptologique*, t. VII (Paris, 1898), p. 1.

given to the world, but from his contributions to the *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne*, &c., in 1872-1873, it is not difficult to compile the alphabet for transliteration used by him at the beginning of his distinguished career, which appears, I think, in Pl. V, fig. 1. In this he dispenses altogether with diacritical marks, using accents to distinguish between the *a* sounds and the rough and soft breathing ' ' for the compound letters *th* and *sh*. His later system is, I think, sufficiently represented by the table in M. Loret's *Manuel de la Langue Égyptienne*, wherein all attempt to observe the principle—which Lepsius exalted almost into an eleventh commandment—of representing every single sound by a single letter, is frankly abandoned, and the double letters *ou*, *th*, *sh* and *dj* are introduced. The only English Egyptologist who has so far entirely departed from the standard system is Prof. Petrie, whose alphabet is given on the same Plate. Both he and M. Loret allow the intercalation of the vowel *e* for the purpose of pronunciation, but M. Maspero follows, where possible, the Coptic vocalization. The systems of M. Maspero and Prof. Petrie are entirely free from all the objections before mentioned as attaching to the systems based upon the standard alphabet, and present less difficulty to the learner than any other. But they are not, like these last, international, that is to say, the letters of which their alphabets are formed would be pronounced differently by the different European nationalities,¹⁰ and they are, of course, liable to whatever drawback attaches to the violation of the principle that single sounds should be represented by single letters.

The Berlin System.

The authors of all the systems that we have hitherto seen have all been agreed as to the vocalic power of the Egyptian signs , , , , , and . Lepsius had the matter before him when drawing up his Standard Alphabet, in his work on which he says, after mentioning that the three first of these signs were all

¹⁰ The Spanish student, for instance, upon seeing Prof. Petrie's transliteration of , would think it corresponded to the English sound *th*, or the Greek *θ*.

So the letters which to the English and French denote the sounds *b*, *c*, and *d*, are pronounced by Germans as if they were written *p*, *g*, and *t*, and conversely. It is a fact that there is no single letter in the Latin alphabet from *a* to *z* which conveys the same sound to all nations.

rendered in Coptic by the vowel α , "The sign — seems to have expressed originally long $\tilde{a}$, which not seldom passed into o , as from the Demotic sign 𐤊 = o , representing the hieroglyphic 𐀀 as well as from the Coptic, might be inferred. To the same sign we find in Hebrew י often corresponding, and this letter might then also indicate rather the lengthening of the preceding vowel, not the consonantal sound y , which seems to have been always unknown, as well as the sound of ס , in the Egyptian language."¹¹ But in 1893, in pursuance, apparently, of the theories laid down by Prof. Erman and Herr Steindorff the year before,¹² the Archæological Survey of the Egypt Exploration Fund opened with an entirely new system of transliteration (Pl. VI, fig. 1), based upon the supposition that the Egyptian alphabet, like the Hebrew, was entirely consonantal. At the same time the use of the intercalary e was abolished; but the alteration gave such dissatisfaction, that in the volume issued the following year the new transliteration was abandoned and the older system resumed, as shown on Pl. IV, fig. 7. In the latter year, however, there appeared Prof. Erman's *Ägyptische Grammatik* in German and English, wherein the use of the transliteration shown in Pl. VI, fig. 2, is enjoined on the express grounds of its correspondence with Semitic. If the contention of these scholars is justified, and the Egyptians were really in the habit of writing their words without vowels, it seems to follow that some such transliteration as this is the only one possible. Their present system cannot, however, even then be considered as complete until it is coupled with some system of vocalization.¹³ Otherwise it is

¹¹ He must have modified his opinion later, as at the London Congress of 1874, the section over which he presided decided that the 𐀀 and — "like their linguistic analogues the Hebrew letters 'Aleph' and 'Ain,' have a consonantal value." (*Transactions of the Internat. Congress*, &c., p. 440.) The directly opposite view was taken by Renouf at the Ninth Congress of Orientalists (London, 1893), in his paper, "Are there really no Vowels in the Egyptian Alphabet?"

¹² See Prof. Erman's "*Das Verhältniss des Ägyptischen zu den Semitischen Sprachen*," in *Z.D.M.G.*, Bd. XLVI, pp. 93 *sqq.*, and Herr Steindorff's "*Das altägyptische Alphabet und seine Umschreibung*," in the same volume, pp. 709 *sqq.* In the latter article the part played by the *Ä.Z.* in the matter is very clearly set forth.

¹³ This is apparently admitted by Prof. Spiegelberg, who, though a staunch adherent of the Berlin school, transliterates 𐀀 𐀁 𐀂 𐀃 𐀄 𐀅 𐀆 𐀇 𐀈 𐀉 𐀊 𐀋 𐀌 𐀍 𐀎 𐀏 𐀐 𐀑 𐀒 𐀓 𐀔 𐀕 𐀖 𐀗 𐀘 𐀙 𐀚 𐀛 𐀜 𐀝 𐀞 𐀟 𐀠 𐀡 𐀢 𐀣 𐀤 𐀥 𐀦 𐀧 𐀨 𐀩 𐀪 𐀫 𐀬 𐀭 𐀮 𐀯 𐀰 𐀱 𐀲 𐀳 𐀴 𐀵 𐀶 𐀷 𐀸 𐀹 𐀺 𐀻 𐀼 𐀽 𐀾 𐀿 𐁀 𐁁 𐁂 𐁃 𐁄 𐁅 𐁆 𐁇 𐁈 𐁉 𐁊 𐁋 𐁌 𐁍 𐁎 𐁏 𐁐 𐁑 𐁒 𐁓 𐁔 𐁕 𐁖 𐁗 𐁘 𐁙 𐁚 𐁛 𐁜 𐁝 𐁞 𐁟 𐁠 𐁡 𐁢 𐁣 𐁤 𐁥 𐁦 𐁧 𐁨 𐁩 𐁪 𐁫 𐁬 𐁭 𐁮 𐁯 𐁰 𐁱 𐁲 𐁳 𐁴 𐁵 𐁶 𐁷 𐁸 𐁹 𐁺 𐁻 𐁼 𐁽 𐁾 𐁿 𐂀 𐂁 𐂂 𐂃 𐂄 𐂅 𐂆 𐂇 𐂈 𐂉 𐂊 𐂋 𐂌 𐂍 𐂎 𐂏 𐂐 𐂑 𐂒 𐂓 𐂔 𐂕 𐂖 𐂗 𐂘 𐂙 𐂚 𐂛 𐂜 𐂝 𐂞 𐂟 𐂠 𐂡 𐂢 𐂣 𐂤 𐂥 𐂦 𐂧 𐂨 𐂩 𐂪 𐂫 𐂬 𐂭 𐂮 𐂯 𐂰 𐂱 𐂲 𐂳 𐂴 𐂵 𐂶 𐂷 𐂸 𐂹 𐂺 𐂻 𐂼 𐂽 𐂾 𐂿 𐃀 𐃁 𐃂 𐃃 𐃄 𐃅 𐃆 𐃇 𐃈 𐃉 𐃊 𐃋 𐃌 𐃍 𐃎 𐃏 𐃐 𐃑 𐃒 𐃓 𐃔 𐃕 𐃖 𐃗 𐃘 𐃙 𐃚 𐃛 𐃜 𐃝 𐃞 𐃟 𐃠 𐃡 𐃢 𐃣 𐃤 𐃥 𐃦 𐃧 𐃨 𐃩 𐃪 𐃫 𐃬 𐃭 𐃮 𐃯 𐃰 𐃱 𐃲 𐃳 𐃴 𐃵 𐃶 𐃷 𐃸 𐃹 𐃺 𐃻 𐃼 𐃽 𐃾 𐃿 𐄀 𐄁 𐄂 𐄃 𐄄 𐄅 𐄆 𐄇 𐄈 𐄉 𐄊 𐄋 𐄌 𐄍 𐄎 𐄏 𐄐 𐄑 𐄒 𐄓 𐄔 𐄕 𐄖 𐄗 𐄘 𐄙 𐄚 𐄛 𐄜 𐄝 𐄞 𐄟 𐄠 𐄡 𐄢 𐄣 𐄤 𐄥 𐄦 𐄧 𐄨 𐄩 𐄪 𐄫 𐄬 𐄭 𐄮 𐄯 𐄰 𐄱 𐄲 𐄳 𐄴 𐄵 𐄶 𐄷 𐄸 𐄹 𐄺 𐄻 𐄼 𐄽 𐄾 𐄿 𐅀 𐅁 𐅂 𐅃 𐅄 𐅅 𐅆 𐅇 𐅈 𐅉 𐅊 𐅋 𐅌 𐅍 𐅎 𐅏 𐅐 𐅑 𐅒 𐅓 𐅔 𐅕 𐅖 𐅗 𐅘 𐅙 𐅚 𐅛 𐅜 𐅝 𐅞 𐅟 𐅠 𐅡 𐅢 𐅣 𐅤 𐅥 𐅦 𐅧 𐅨 𐅩 𐅪 𐅫 𐅬 𐅭 𐅮 𐅯 𐅰 𐅱 𐅲 𐅳 𐅴 𐅵 𐅶 𐅷 𐅸 𐅹 𐅺 𐅻 𐅼 𐅽 𐅾 𐅿 𐆀 𐆁 𐆂 𐆃 𐆄 𐆅 𐆆 𐆇 𐆈 𐆉 𐆊 𐆋 𐆌 𐆍 𐆎 𐆏 𐆐 𐆑 𐆒 𐆓 𐆔 𐆕 𐆖 𐆗 𐆘 𐆙 𐆚 𐆛 𐆜 𐆝 𐆞 𐆟 𐆠 𐆡 𐆢 𐆣 𐆤 𐆥 𐆦 𐆧 𐆨 𐆩 𐆪 𐆫 𐆬 𐆭 𐆮 𐆯 𐆰 𐆱 𐆲 𐆳 𐆴 𐆵 𐆶 𐆷 𐆸 𐆹 𐆺 𐆻 𐆼 𐆽 𐆾 𐆿 𐇀 𐇁 𐇂 𐇃 𐇄 𐇅 𐇆 𐇇 𐇈 𐇉 𐇊 𐇋 𐇌 𐇍 𐇎 𐇏 𐇐 𐇑 𐇒 𐇓 𐇔 𐇕 𐇖 𐇗 𐇘 𐇙 𐇚 𐇛 𐇜 𐇝 𐇞 𐇟 𐇠 𐇡 𐇢 𐇣 𐇤 𐇥 𐇦 𐇧 𐇨 𐇩 𐇪 𐇫 𐇬 𐇭 𐇮 𐇯 𐇰 𐇱 𐇲 𐇳 𐇴 𐇵 𐇶 𐇷 𐇸 𐇹 𐇺 𐇻 𐇼 𐇽 𐇾 𐇿 𐈀 𐈁 𐈂 𐈃 𐈄 𐈅 𐈆 𐈇 𐈈 𐈉 𐈊 𐈋 𐈌 𐈍 𐈎 𐈏 𐈐 𐈑 𐈒 𐈓 𐈔 𐈕 𐈖 𐈗 𐈘 𐈙 𐈚 𐈛 𐈜 𐈝 𐈞 𐈟 𐈠 𐈡 𐈢 𐈣 𐈤 𐈥 𐈦 𐈧 𐈨 𐈩 𐈪 𐈫 𐈬 𐈭 𐈮 𐈯 𐈰 𐈱 𐈲 𐈳 𐈴 𐈵 𐈶 𐈷 𐈸 𐈹 𐈺 𐈻 𐈼 𐈽 𐈾 𐈿 𐉀 𐉁 𐉂 𐉃 𐉄 𐉅 𐉆 𐉇 𐉈 𐉉 𐉊 𐉋 𐉌 𐉍 𐉎 𐉏 𐉐 𐉑 𐉒 𐉓 𐉔 𐉕 𐉖 𐉗 𐉘 𐉙 𐉚 𐉛 𐉜 𐉝 𐉞 𐉟 𐉠 𐉡 𐉢 𐉣 𐉤 𐉥 𐉦 𐉧 𐉨 𐉩 𐉪 𐉫 𐉬 𐉭 𐉮 𐉯 𐉰 𐉱 𐉲 𐉳 𐉴 𐉵 𐉶 𐉷 𐉸 𐉹 𐉺 𐉻 𐉼 𐉽 𐉾 𐉿 𐊀 𐊁 𐊂 𐊃 𐊄 𐊅 𐊆 𐊇 𐊈 𐊉 𐊊 𐊋 𐊌 𐊍 𐊎 𐊏 𐊐 𐊑 𐊒 𐊓 𐊔 𐊕 𐊖 𐊗 𐊘 𐊙 𐊚 𐊛 𐊜 𐊝 𐊞 𐊟 𐊠 𐊡 𐊢 𐊣 𐊤 𐊥 𐊦 𐊧 𐊨 𐊩 𐊪 𐊫 𐊬 𐊭 𐊮 𐊯 𐊰 𐊱 𐊲 𐊳 𐊴 𐊵 𐊶 𐊷 𐊸 𐊹 𐊺 𐊻 𐊼 𐊽 𐊾 𐊿 𐋀 𐋁 𐋂 𐋃 𐋄 𐋅 𐋆 𐋇 𐋈 𐋉 𐋊 𐋋 𐋌 𐋍 𐋎 𐋏 𐋐 𐋑 𐋒 𐋓 𐋔 𐋕 𐋖 𐋗 𐋘 𐋙 𐋚 𐋛 𐋜 𐋝 𐋞 𐋟 𐋠 𐋡 𐋢 𐋣 𐋤 𐋥 𐋦 𐋧 𐋨 𐋩 𐋪 𐋫 𐋬 𐋭 𐋮 𐋯 𐋰 𐋱 𐋲 𐋳 𐋴 𐋵 𐋶 𐋷 𐋸 𐋹 𐋺 𐋻 𐋼 𐋽 𐋾 𐋿 𐌀 𐌁 𐌂 𐌃 𐌄 𐌅 𐌆 𐌇 𐌈 𐌉 𐌊 𐌋 𐌌 𐌍 𐌎 𐌏 𐌐 𐌑 𐌒 𐌓 𐌔 𐌕 𐌖 𐌗 𐌘 𐌙 𐌚 𐌛 𐌜 𐌝 𐌞 𐌟 𐌠 𐌡 𐌢 𐌣 𐌤 𐌥 𐌦 𐌧 𐌨 𐌩 𐌪 𐌫 𐌬 𐌭 𐌮 𐌯 𐌰 𐌱 𐌲 𐌳 𐌴 𐌵 𐌶 𐌷 𐌸 𐌹 𐌺 𐌻 𐌼 𐌽 𐌾 𐌿 𐍀 𐍁 𐍂 𐍃 𐍄 𐍅 𐍆 𐍇 𐍈 𐍉 𐍊 𐍋 𐍌 𐍍 𐍎 𐍏 𐍐 𐍑 𐍒 𐍓 𐍔 𐍕 𐍖 𐍗 𐍘 𐍙 𐍚 𐍛 𐍜 𐍝 𐍞 𐍟 𐍠 𐍡 𐍢 𐍣 𐍤 𐍥 𐍦 𐍧 𐍨 𐍩 𐍪 𐍫 𐍬 𐍭 𐍮 𐍯 𐍰 𐍱 𐍲 𐍳 𐍴 𐍵 𐍶 𐍷 𐍸 𐍹 𐍺 𐍻 𐍼 𐍽 𐍾 𐍿 𐎀 𐎁 𐎂 𐎃 𐎄 𐎅 𐎆 𐎇 𐎈 𐎉 𐎊 𐎋 𐎌 𐎍 𐎎 𐎏 𐎐 𐎑 𐎒 𐎓 𐎔 𐎕 𐎖 𐎗 𐎘 𐎙 𐎚 𐎛 𐎜 𐎝 𐎞 𐎟 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰

open to all the objections that can be urged against the use of diacritical points, with the addition that it interposes another set of hieroglyphics between the reader and the word. But it must, of course, be said that these objections fail to outweigh the necessity of the system if the exclusively consonantal character of the Egyptian alphabet be once admitted.

Summary and Conclusions.

It will be seen, then, that the transliteration of Egyptian, which began with the theory that all the phonetic signs denoted syllables only, soon passed into a transcription into Coptic letters in which the alphabetical value of certain signs was fully valued. This was put an end to by the more or less general adoption of Lepsius's system of transcription into Roman letters, differentiating between signs whose equivalent sounds differ only slightly from each other by the use of diacritical marks. From this mode of transcription M. Maspero has always dissented, preferring instead to use one, two or more Roman letters to express each different sound, and of late the leading English Egyptologists seem to have been modifying the Lepsius system so as to bring it into accord with his. Since 1894, the Berlin School have adopted a system involving a larger use than ever of diacritical marks, and based on the supposed absence of vowels from the Egyptian alphabet. This system has gained the adhesion of several English Egyptologists, but not, so far as I know, that of any scholar of other than German or English nationality. It is admittedly incomplete as it stands, nor has any attempt been made since its first promulgation to vindicate its superiority, or the non-vocalic theory on which it is based. Notwithstanding this, its adherents have insisted—as they have, no doubt, the right to do—upon its adoption in all publications controlled by them. In addition to this, it has been employed, to the exclusion of all others, at the lectures on Egyptology at Oxford and London, which form the only continuous attempt yet made in this country to provide oral instruction in the study of the ancient Egyptian language. Latterly, however, the adherents of the Berlin School have gone a step further, and have made use of their vowelless system of transliteration in publications addressed not to the learned but to the general public. Instances of this can be found in the last edition by Dr. Steindorff of *Baedeker's Guide to Egypt*, and in the article "Egypt" in Dr. Hastings' *Bible*

Dictionary by Mr. Crum, a member of this Society. In one or other of these we find the names of well-known Pharaohs, such as Chephren, Mycerinos, Thothmes and Apries spelt *H-fr'*, *Mnk'wr'*, *Dhwtims*, and *W'hibr'*. But such forms as those last given can convey no meaning to the general reader, and one can therefore suppose that they are employed to convince him that this is the only possible way of writing Egyptian. Under these circumstances, I submit that the time has come when this Society, as the only one in England that publishes and comments upon Egyptian texts, should consider the claims of the Berlin system of transliteration, with a view to its adoption with or without modification, or, if it be found unsuitable, to its complete rejection.

By the desire of the Council, copies of the above Paper have been sent to several of the leading Egyptologists of Europe and America, with a request for their opinion upon the three following points: (1) the affinity between the Egyptian and Semitic languages; (2) the existence of vowels in Egyptian; (3) the method of transcription best suited to (a) scholars; (b) the general reader. The replies received by Mr. Legge are printed below, the pressure on our space must be our excuse for some of them appearing merely as extracts. Other replies will follow in future numbers of these "Proceedings."—EDITOR.

LETTER FROM PROF. DR. KARL PIEHL.

MONSIEUR,

En réponse à votre demande, je m'empresse de vous exposer sans préambule, "time is money," mes vues sur les *trois* points que vous avez bien voulu soumettre à mon examen.

1° Jusqu'ici je n'ai nulle part vu des preuves convaincantes d'une affinité entre l'égyptien et les dialectes sémitiques. Je reconnais qu'on peut relever des ressemblances entre les deux, surtout sur le terrain du vocabulaire, et il me semble presque certain que, pour expliquer ces ressemblances, il faut recourir à la supposition d'*emprunts* faits de l'un à l'autre ou *vice versa*.

2° J'ai déjà fait remarquer fort souvent dans mes ouvrages (voir en dernier lieu *Sphinx* I, p. 50-52; IV, 232, etc.), que l'égyptien employait, dans son écriture, des *voyelles* aussi bien que des consonnes. L'école de Berlin, malgré son assurance de l'absence de voyelles de cette écriture—assurance qui est trop catégorique pour inspirer de la confiance—a dû, plus d'une fois, rabattre de cette théorie.

3° Quant aux systèmes de transcription dont on nous a gratifié, je n'hésite point d'admettre toujours celui de la *Zeitschrift* (de Brugsch et Lepsius). Les modifications à introduire dans l'arrangement quasi-définitif de Lepsius sont insignifiantes, telles que ~~𓂀~~ *ru*, au lieu de *l*, 𓂀 (quelquefois) = *tà* au lieu de *θ*, 𓂀𓂀𓂀 = *ša*, au lieu de *š*, etc.

J'estime d'ailleurs que vous avez eu en Angleterre l'homme le plus capable de résoudre ces questions—LE PAGE RENOUF. Ce qu'il a dit dans son mémoire, "Egyptian Phonology, I" (*Proceedings* XI, pp. 107-115), suffit à effacer complètement *comme produit scientifique* le système de transcription de Berlin. Il faut seulement regretter que les membres de l'école berlinoise appliquent aux ouvrages de Le Page Renouf un peu la règle fameuse "græca sunt, non leguntur" (Cf. *Sphinx* II, p. 247; *Zeitschrift*, 1897, XXXV, p. 166).

Je vous autorise, Monsieur, à imprimer ces miennes paroles, et vous prie d'agréer l'assurance de mes meilleurs sentiments

KARL PIEHL.

UPSALA, le 19 *Octobre* 1902.

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF M. PHILIPPE VIREY.

Je ne suis pas assez *spécialement* appliqué à l'étude des systèmes de transcription pour en savoir plus à cet égard que le premier venu des égyptologues. Cependant comme je vois que vous voulez non seulement prendre l'avis des spécialistes en ces matières, mais aussi provoquer un vote de la généralité de vos lecteurs, tous intéressés à lire des transcriptions autant que possible exactes et d'une usage pratique, c'est en cette qualité de simple lecteur que je vote *contre* l'adoption de la transcription de Berlin.

D'abord elle est d'un aspect un peu rebutant. Ensuite, comme M. Legge l'avez fort bien dit, "it interposes another set of hieroglyphics between the reader and the word." Enfin, les principes sur lesquels elle se fonde ne me paraissent pas jusqu'à présent assez solidement établis.

1. Sans doute ils est permis de trouver dans la langue égyptienne des analogies avec les langues sémitiques, ne fût-ce que dans le système de l'emploi des pronoms personnels. Sans doute on peut noter dans l'égyptien des mots qui lui sont communs avec les langues sémitiques. Le contact constant des deux races a pu amener, par suite d'emprunts réciproques, quelques analogies entre deux langues au fond indépendantes l'une de l'autre. Mais cela ne suffit pas, et je pense qu'E. de Rougé avait raison, quand il écrivait à Chabas dans une lettre du 16 avril, 1852, encore inédite: "Si (dans l'égyptien) la grammaire est plus décidément *sémitique* que dans le copte, cette langue (égyptienne) n'en a pas moins *sa physionomie bien tranchée*; une bonne partie des radicaux se rapproche du type *indo-germanique*." D'autres savants ont cru reconnaître des affinités avec les langues berbères. Je ne suis pas sûr qu'on doive tenir plus de compte des analogies sémitiques que des analogies indo-germaniques ou berbères; et après E. de Rougé, je continue à considérer l'égyptien comme distinct du groupe des langues sémitiques.
2. Je pense qu'il y a dans l'égyptien des signes faisant office de voyelles; voyelles sans doute moins précises et moins définies que les nôtres; mais enfin voyelles et non consonnes.
3. La transcription copte, si recommandée par Chabas, me paraît d'un très bon emploi pour l'égyptologue qui ne veut négliger aucun moyen pour arriver à l'intelligence aussi parfaite que possible d'un texte égyptien. Mais cette transcription, bonne pour l'étude, n'est pas pratique pour la publication; et à cet égard les objections de Lepsius sont justes en grand partie. Le système de M. Maspero, qui cherche à suivre autant que possible la vocalisation copte, me paraît avoir de grand avantages, tant au point de vue pratique qu'au point de vue de l'exactitude, et je crois qu'il faut prendre son parti de l'emploi des lettres doubles.

PLATE I. CHAMPOLLION LETTRE À M. DACIER, 1822.

[illegible]

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PLATE II. CHAMPOLLION. GRAMMAIRE EGYPTIENNE, 1836.

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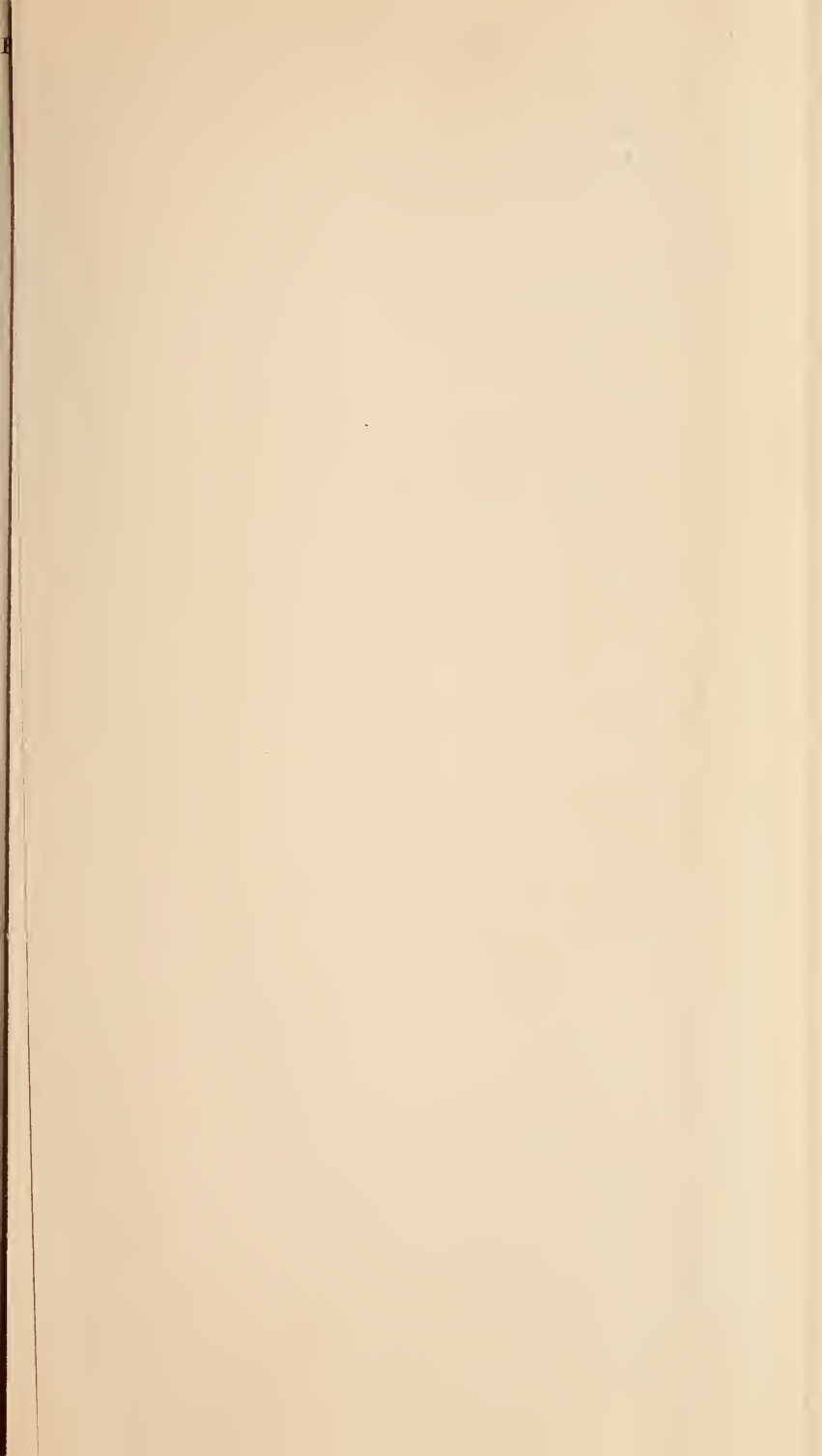


FIG. 1.

(From Lepsius' "Letter to Rosellini," 1837.)

2		p λ	
0		ee	
ε		π	
21		π	
ε1		c	
1		ε	
0		ε	
07		ε	
δ		ε	
γ		ε	
τ		ε	

FIG. 2.

(From Chabas' "Papyrus Magique Harris," 1860.)

a	2, ε
a	2, ε
ai, i	21, ε1, 1
o, ou u	0, 07, 7
o, ou, u	0, 07, 7
o, u	0, ε
b, w	δ, 07
b, w	δ, 07
b	δ
k	κ, δ
k	κ, δ
k	κ, δ
k	κ
k	κ
f, w	q
r	λ, p
r	λ, p
m	22
m	22
n	π
p	π

FIG. 3.

(From Deveria: "Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée de Lyon," 1857; "Specimen des Interprétations des Écritures de l'Ancienne Égypte," 1858; "Papyrus Judiciaire de Turin," 1868.)

1857.	1858.	1868.
Ā	E	a'
A	A	ā
Ā	A', A	ā
B	I	b
F	OU	d
H	B	g'
H'	P	h
I or Y	F	k'
K	M	i
K'	N	l (r')
L or R'	R	m
M	H	n
N	X	p
P	S	q
R	CH	r
S	K	s
S'	Q	s'
T	T	t
T'	DJ	ū
U	L	w'
		x'
		z'

* Basé époque.

FIG. 4.

(From Bunsen's "Egypt's Place in Universal History," Vol. 1, 1848.)

Ā	1
'A	1
A (final)	1
B	1
F	1
H	1
I	1
K	1
L	1
M	1
N	1
P	1
S	1
T	1
U	1
X (Greek)	1
χ (Coptic)	1

FIG. 1.

(From Lepsius's original proposal at London Conference, 1854.)

a	
i	
u	
k	
t	
n	
p	
b	
m	
h	
x	
s	
z	
l, r	
f	

FIG. 2.

(From Lepsius' "Standard Alphabet," 1862.)

a		a	
i		i	
u		u	
k		k	
t		t	
n		n	
p		p	
b		b	
m		m	
h		h	
x		x	
s		s	
z		z	
l, r		l, r	
f		f	

FIG. 3.

(From De Rouge's "Chrestomathie Egyptienne," 1867.)

a		a	
i		i	
u		u	
k		k	
t		t	
n		n	
p		p	
b		b	
m		m	
h		h	
x		x	
s		s	
z		z	
l, r		l, r	
f		f	

FIG. 4.

(From Brugsch's "Hieroglyphische Grammatik," 1872.)

a		a	
i		i	
u		u	
k		k	
t		t	
n		n	
p		p	
b		b	
m		m	
h		h	
x		x	
s		s	
z		z	
l, r		l, r	
f		f	

FIG. 5.

(From Renouf's "Elementary Grammar," etc., 1875.)

a		a	
i		i	
u		u	
k		k	
t		t	
n		n	
p		p	
b		b	
m		m	
h		h	
x		x	
s		s	
z		z	
l, r		l, r	
f		f	

FIG. 6.

(From Rossi's "Grammatica Copto Geroglifica," 1877.)

a		a	
i		i	
u		u	
k		k	
t		t	
n		n	
p		p	
b		b	
m		m	
h		h	
x		x	
s		s	
z		z	
l, r		l, r	
f		f	

FIG. 7.

(From "Egypt Exploration Fund's," "Beni Hassan," Part II, 1893.)

a		a	
i		i	
u		u	
k		k	
t		t	
n		n	
p		p	
b		b	
m		m	
h		h	
x		x	
s		s	
z		z	
l, r		l, r	
f		f	

FIG. 8.

(From Budge's "Book of the Dead," 1898.)

A		A	
Ā		Ā	
A		A	
I		I	
U		U	
B		B	
P		P	
F		F	
M		M	
N		N	
R, L		R, L	
H		H	
U		U	
X		X	
S		S	
S		S	
K		K	
Q		Q	
K		K	
T		T	
T		T	
T		T	

FIG. 9.

(From "British Museum Guide to 1st and 2nd Egyptian Rooms," 1898.)

A		A	
Ā		Ā	
A		A	
I		I	
U		U	
B		B	
P		P	
F		F	
M		M	
N		N	
R, L		R, L	
H		H	
U		U	
X		X	
S		S	
SH		SH	
K		K	
Q		Q	
K		K	
TH		TH	
TCH		TCH	

PLATE V.

FIG. 1.

(From Maspero's Contributions to "Mélanges d'Archéologie," etc., 1873.)

	$\bar{a}$
	a
	$\hat{a}$
	i
	i
	$\hat{i}$
	b
	p
	w
	m
	n
	r, l
	h
	h'
	χ
	s
	s'
	q
	k
	g
	t
	d
	z

FIG. 2.

(From Loret, "Manuel de la Langue Egyptienne," 1889.)

	a
	$\hat{a}$
	$\hat{a}$
	i
	ou
	b
	p
	f
	m
	n
	r
	h
	kh
	s
	sh
	q
	k
	g
	t
	d
	dj

FIG. 3.

(From Petrie, "History of Egypt," Vol. I, 4th ed., 1899.)

	a or $\hat{a}$
	a
	a or $\bar{a}$
	u
	y
	i
	b
	p
	f
	m
	n
	r
	h
	kh
	k
	g
	q
	t
	th
	d
	z (soft as in <i>azure</i>)

PLATE VI.

FIG. 1.

(Egypt Exploration
Fund, "Beni Hassan,"
Part I, 1893.)

	3
	i
	e
	y
	i
	w
	b
	p
	f
	m
	n
	r
	h
	h
	h
	s
	s
	s
	k
	k
	k
	g
	t
	t
	d
	d

FIG. 2.

Erman, (From "Neue Ägyptische Grammatik,"
1893.)

	3		}	h
	i			
	e		}	s
	w			
	b			s
	p			k
	f			k
	m			g
	n			t
	r			t
	h			t
	h			d
	h			d
	s			d
	s			d
	s			d
	k			d
	k			d
	g			d
	t			d
	t			d
	d			d
	d			d

SOME PUNIC ANALOGUES.

BY JOSEPH OFFORD AND E. J. PILCHER.

In September last M. Philippe Berger read a paper before the Académie des Inscriptions upon a remarkable unpublished Punic monument preserved at Oristano, in Sardinia, by Chevalier Efisio Pischedda, consisting of a slab of marble 40 mm. long, 30 mm. high, and 9 mm. thick. This slab was dug up on the site of the old necropolis of Tharros, and bears an inscription of eleven lines. Unfortunately, it was not possible to deal with the whole of this inscription owing to the difficulty of the text, the mutilation of the stone in places, and the defective nature of the cast which had been forwarded to Paris. M. Berger, however, brought out two very interesting points. One was that the new text proved the political dependence of Sardinia upon Carthage, by its reference (toward the end of the inscription) to the "suffetes in Carthage, Adonibaal, and Hamilcath." But the Biblical student will be more interested in the first line, containing the preamble of the dedication:—

לאדן לאלם הקדש מלקרת על הצר וערפת

M. Berger is inclined to take צר as the name of the city of Tyre. As, however, the word is preceded by the definite article, this is impossible; and it must be the common noun "rock." The line is therefore to be read as follows:—"To the lord god, the sanctuary of Melqarth upon the rock, and Orpath."

It is particularly noticeable that the singular form אדן is accompanied by the plural אלם. There can thus be no doubt that אלם is a *pl. majestatis* applied to an individual, like the Hebrew אלהים. This is not an isolated example, for C.I.S., I, 119 (an inscription discovered at Athens), reads:—

יתנבל בן אשמנצלה רב כהנם אלם נרגל

"Yathanbel, son of Eshmunsillekh, chief of the priests of the god Nergal."

So that here the Babylonian deity Nergal is called an *Elim*.

And we may also cite the remarkable Maktar Inscription * containing the following line :—

לאֵלֶם הַקִּדְשׁ לְשֵׁאת אַחַת שְׁנִים

which M. Berger renders “to the divinity of the sanctuary, to Sat, sister of the heavens.” The fact that a female deity is here an *Elim* presents no difficulty, when we remember that 1 Kings xi, 5 and 33, style “Ashtoreth the goddess of the Zidonians” an *Elohim*.

It will be remembered that one peculiarity of the Tel el Amarna tablets is the use of the plural form “*Ilani*,” in speaking of the Pharaoh in the singular, and the light which this, and these Punic inscriptions, throw upon the statement in Deuteronomy vi, 4, is certainly of sufficient importance to make this summary of these texts of special interest to the members of the Society of Biblical Archæology.

The ערפה of the Tharros inscription recalls the ערפה of Ruth i, 4, 14 (LXX Ὀρφα. *Vulg.* Orpha), and is interesting as tending to confirm the Massoretic text of Ruth, which has been questioned; Simonis, for example, proposing to read the more frequent word עפרה. Until the rest of the text is published, however, it will be difficult to tell what this *Orpath* refers to. M. Berger is inclined to receive it as a geographical name, and connect it with the *Arepta* mentioned in a Greco-Phoenician inscription discovered at Pozzuoli (*Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Insc.*, 1901, p. 196), Arefa (*Not. Dign.*, XXXII, 39) or the Arpha of Josephus (*Wars*, III, iii, 5), but the learned Orientalist admits that this theory must be first confirmed by a minute study of the Tharros text.

Upon another Punic inscription M. Berger has read the name בדאדם[ע] the analogue of the Obed-edom of 2 Sam. vi, 1 Chron. xiii, &c.†

* “Mémoire sur la grande inscription dédicatoire . . . du temple d'Ithor-Miskar à Maktar,” *par* Philippe Berger. Paris, 1899.

† “Les Inscriptions de Constantine, au Musée du Louvre,” *par* P. Berger. *Actes du Onzième Congrès des Orientalists*.

THE PARENTAGE OF QUEEN AAH-HETEP.

BY PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

In the winter of 1895, I was shown by a dealer in antiquities at Edfu,* a small gold pendant with the following inscription incised upon it :—



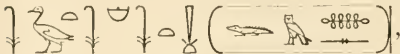
“The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Antef, giving life.”

“The Great Royal Wife, who is united to the Beauty of the White Crown, Sebek-em-saï-ef.”†

The pendant measured about an inch and a-half in length by half an inch in width, and a quarter of an inch in thickness; it was not of solid gold, but made of two thick gold plates, bent down the edges and soldered together. The hieroglyphs upon it were punched upon the gold by a pointed tool, and their forms bear so strong a resemblance to those which are found on the gold “heart scarab” of King Sebek-em-sa-ef in the British Museum (No. 7876, described and figured below), that it is impossible to doubt its authenticity. The coupling of the two names Antef and Sebek-em saï-ef is in itself a matter of some interest, but this small pendant is of great historical importance in another connection. A stela, found also by native

* The same object was afterwards shown to me by Moharb Todrus (now German Consular Agent at Luxor), but his price was even more prohibitive than that of the Edfu dealer.

† This form is, of course, impossible for a woman’s name. My copy, however, gives the masculine suffix , *ef*, with a *sic*, and this, curiously enough, is the way the name is spelt on another monument mentioning the same queen (Brit. Mus. 23068, see below; *cf.* also *P.S.B.A.*, 1887, p. 191, where there is mentioned a Mentuhetep, born of the *Erpatet* Sebek-em-sa-ef). The correct form of the name for a woman is Sebek-em-saï-es, *i.e.*, with the feminine suffix  *es*. “Sebek is her protection.”

diggers at Edfu, in 1886, and now in the Cairo Museum,* mentions a , "Royal Daughter, Royal Wife, Royal Sister, Sebek-em-sa-es," whom we can hardly avoid identifying with the Antef's queen named on the object described above. The inscription on this stela records that a priest named Au-ef, son of Art-na, was ordered by Queen Aah-hetep (the mother of Aahmes I) to restore the *as*, "tomb," of "the Royal daughter Sebek-em-sa-es," which had been found in a ruinous condition. In the upper register of the stela the Queen Aah-hetep and Sebek-em-sa-es are figured side by side in such a way as to lead us to believe that they were members of one and the same family, and this seems also to be indicated by the solicitude displayed by Aah-hetep in having the tomb of Sebek-em-sa-es restored. Au-ef also distinctly says that Aah-hetep had private possessions at Edfu,† and it was here that Sebek-em-sa-es was buried:‡ this also is a point to be noted in favour of their being relatives. That these two Queens were closely related has been agreed by M. Maspero and M. Lieblein. M. Maspero conjectured that Sebek-em-sa-es was a daughter of Aah-hetep who died soon after she had been married to, or at least affianced by, her [presumed] brother Aahmes,§ while M. Lieblein supposed her to belong to the family of kings of the XIIIth dynasty.|| In the light of this new inscription, however, another interpretation of the relationship may be given.

From the fact that Aah-hetep restored the tomb of Sebek-em-sai-es, which she states "had fallen into ruin," it seems clear that Aah-hetep was a *descendant*¶ of Sebek-em-sai-es; but the exact relationship between the two must be a matter of supposition until we obtain some further evidence about these Queens. The

* The hieroglyphic text upon it has been published by M. Bouriant in the *Recueil des travaux*, Vol. IX, 93; and a translation of it is given, together with a discussion of some of the historical points which it involves, by M. Maspero in his *Les Momies royales*, pp. 625-628. Lieblein has also referred to it in a letter printed in these *Proceedings* (1888, pp. 302-3).

† *Erde n es na khetu es nebt em debat*. "she gave me all her possessions in Edfu."

‡ That this stela found at Edfu came from the tomb of the queen is proved by Au-ef speaking of restoring, "*as* pen," *this* tomb. The gold pendant also certainly came from the same site.

§ *Op. cit.*, p. 628.

¶ *P.S.B.A.*, 1888, p. 303.

¶ Just as we may suppose that the XIIth dynasty monarchs of El Bersheh were descendants of those of the VIth dynasty, whose tombs they restored.

following points, however, are clear from the data we have already obtained :

Sebek-em-sa-es was—

- (1) the daughter of a king,
- (2) the sister of a king,
- (3) the wife of a king named Antef,
- (4) An ancestress of Aah-hetep.

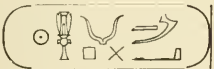
Consequently it appears certain that Aah-hetep inherited her right to the throne of Egypt from the Antef line of kings, and this solves one of the most difficult problems of Egyptian history.

Now there has been some discussion of late years as to the real position of certain of the Antef kings ; they were all originally placed in the XIth dynasty, but, as Steindorff has shown* there is reason to believe that the greater number are *post-XIIth* dynasty in date. The pendant of King Antef described above is certainly another datum in favour of the later period, for it is much more in accordance with probability that we should grant a *post-XIIth* dynasty date for the husband of Sebek-em-sa-es than that we should place him before the Amenemhats and Usertsens.

Steindorff himself was inclined to assign these *post-XIIth* dynasty Antefs to the end of the *XIIIth* dynasty, but their exact *dynastic* position has not as yet been proved. The Antefs concerned are the following :—

1. 


2.


3. 


4. 



Regarding their precise historical position we have unfortunately very little to guide us. Of the first two of these kings the only monuments known are their coffins ; of the third we have his coffin, a broken pyramidion in the British Museum, and a funeral box in the Museum of the Louvre ; while of the fourth, several monuments

* *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 77, *et seq.*

have been found in different parts of Upper Egypt. Now of all these monuments the coffins are perhaps the most distinctive, and if we compare them with the coffin of Aq-her,* in whose tomb was found the throw stick of Prince Thuau, son of King Seḳen-en-ra Tau-aa, we cannot avoid assigning them to nearly the same period. This, it will be seen, gives an early XVIIth dynasty date, which agrees very well with the results obtained from the Antef pendant. But this is not all. These Antefs were, I believe, also connected with the Sebek-em-sa-ef group of kings. Their tombs, like those of the Sebek-em-sa-ef's, were built at Drah abu'l Negga, were pyramidal in form, and they are mentioned together in the Abbot Papyrus. Their prenomens are also very similar. The inscription on the pendant couples the name of Antef with that of Sebek-em-sa-ef, and this appears to lend further support to my supposition. The similarity, in workmanship and style of the hieroglyphs, between the gold "heart-scarab" of King Sebek-em-sa-ef and the Antef pendant must also be taken into account, and this is certainly a point to be noted in favour of the close connection of these two groups of kings.

If we pursue this subject one stage further we necessarily come to a remarkable conclusion: the Sebek-em-sa-efs are generally admitted to be connected with the Sebek-hetep group of kings; and if this be really so, then the little pendant described at the beginning of this paper enables us to bridge over the period between the XIIth and the XVIIIth dynasties. That many of the kings of this "intermediate period" were contemporary with, and probably subject to, the great Hyksos rulers, has never, I believe, been denied, and the group of kings whom we have been discussing were undoubtedly petty kings whose capital was Thebes, but whose rule did not extend much further north than Abydos. It is possible that some of them, like Seḳen-en-ra, even paid tribute to the Hyksos kings and recognised them as their suzerains, while, on the other hand, some, like Nub-kheperu-ra Antef, were powerful enough to hold their own against the foreigners and to visit with the severest punishments any of their high officials who were suspected of being traitors to the native and legitimate line of kings.†

The monument in the British Museum mentioning Queen Sebek-em-sa-ef, to which I referred in a foot-note on page 285, is the lower

* Figured in Mariette's *Mon. Divers*, pl. 48.

† See Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. VIII.

FRAGMENTS OF SOME EARLY GREEK MSS.
WRITTEN ON PAPYRUS.

BY F. C. BURKITT.

DEAR MR. NASH,

The eleven fragments of papyrus which you have sent me for description formed part of two MSS., which I will call A and B. Fragments 1 and 2 belong to A and the rest to B. Both MSS. are written in a regular book-hand, such as was used for literary documents rather than private correspondence. I regret to say that I cannot identify the work once contained in A; the fragments which I have called B contain portions of the *Odyssey*, bk. XII, ll. 250-304.

The pieces of A contain the following words:—

I.		II.
..... ΒΑΙΩΙ	1	... ῬΟΠΟΔΑΤΙΝ' ...
... ΚΩΛΥΟΜΕΝ	2	
... ΤΩΙΟΥΚΔΘΗ...	3	 ΩΜΕΘΑΟΤΑΝ....
.. ΠΑΓΓΕΛΛΕΣ....	4	
.. ΝΙΞΕΙΝ	5	
.. ΔΗΚΑΤΑΛΗΦ...	6	
..... Λ....	7	

The most curious word here used is the first in Fragment (II). Only a small piece of the curve of **P** is visible, but it is enough to show that it could be no other letter but **P**, and consequently the word must have been one of a limited class such as *ἐτερόπους* 'lame,' *μακρόπους* 'a kind of beetle,' *ἀργυρόπους* 'silver-footed,' etc. The fragment is written in lines of varying length, e.g. lines 1, 2 and 5 in Frag. (I), but it does not seem to be poetry or a table of contents. Line 2 of Frag. (II) was either blank or very short.

The nine fragments of B present the following variations from the text of Ludwich (*Teubner*, 1889).

Od. XII, 287 $\pi\eta\bar{\iota}\pi\alpha\varsigma$ *Frag., l. 7.*

290 $\epsilon\iota\alpha\rho\alpha\iota\acute{o}\nu\sigma\iota$] $\epsilon\iota\alpha\rho\rho\alpha\iota\sigma\acute{o}\nu\sigma\iota$ *Frag., l. 10.*

294 $\epsilon\phi\alpha\tau\bar{\iota}$] $\epsilon\phi\alpha\theta$ *Frag., l. 14.*

298 $\epsilon\eta\bar{\iota}$] $\nu\epsilon\nu$ *Frag., l. 18.*

299 $\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$] η $\kappa\epsilon$ *Frag., l. 19.*

The first variation is disappointing, for ι adscript is regularly used in the Papyrus, and it would have been interesting to see whether the word was spelt $\Pi\eta$ or $\Pi\eta\iota$. In line 294 $\epsilon\phi\alpha\theta$ implies the rough breathing in $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$. In l. 290 the Papyrus agrees with the MSS. against $\epsilon\iota\alpha\rho\alpha\iota\acute{o}\nu\sigma\iota$ (Aristarchus) and $\epsilon\iota\alpha\rho\rho\alpha\iota\acute{o}\nu\sigma\iota$ (Eustathius). A later hand has added accents in $\nu\epsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ (l. 286) and in $\eta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\nu$ (l. 299): the last are possibly intended to indicate that the syllables form three separate words. The same hand has added the elided ϵ at the end of $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\upsilon\lambda\omicron\chi$ (l. 297). The stop after $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\iota\omicron\nu\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ (l. 287) is by the original scribe.

The dates to be assigned to the fragments must be determined by the handwriting. The criticism of well-formed handwritings such as these is a very delicate business, as we have to take into account conscious archaisms, especially in copies of classical works like the Iliad and the Odyssey. By the general appearance of the Odyssey fragment I should be inclined to suggest a date not earlier than the second century A.D.; but several of the letters have what are supposed to be quite early forms, e.g. ζ is written $\mathbf{I}$, ξ has the form $\mathbf{\Xi}$ in three separate strokes, the cross-stroke of α is horizontal, ρ and ν show no tendency to go below the line. In the smaller fragment we actually get the epigraphic Θ , with the cross-stroke not meeting the circle. If it be not possible to regard all these forms as conscious archaisms, we must put the fragments into the second century B.C., or even earlier, but the epigraphic Zeta ($\mathbf{I}$) was found by Mr. Grenfell in a MS. of the Iliad, which he was unwilling to date earlier than the first century A.D. (*cf.* Grenfell and Hunt, *O.P.* I, p. 53 note).

The fragment of the Odyssey must have belonged to a handsome roll. The writing was in columns of 31 lines each, each column occupying a space of about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches square. The blank space above $\mathbf{KHP}$ (l. 250) represents the whole of the upper margin. Reckoning about 1 inch for the margin and allowing for a blank space at the beginning, the twelfth book of the Odyssey would have required about 10 or 11 feet of roll. The smaller unidentified

fragment gives no indication of the length of the line or of the column. It is one of the most beautiful specimens of Greek writing in existence, and it is a thousand pities that no more of it has survived.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

July, 1902.

F. C. BURKITT.

- σχέτλιός εἰς, Ὀδυσσεῦ, περί τοι μένος, οὐδέ τι γυνή
 280 κάμνεις· ἦ ῥά νυ σοί γε σιδήρεα πάντα τέτυκται·
 ὅς ῥ' ἐτάρΟΥC ΚΑΝΑΤΩΙ ΑΔΗΚΟΤας ἦδ' καὶ ὕπνω
 οἶκ' ΕΛΛΑΙC ΓΑΙΗΣ ΕΠΙΒΗΜΕΝΑΙ, ἐνθα κεν αὖτε
 νήσΩΙ ΕΝ ΑΜΦΙΡΥΤΗΙ ΛΑΡΟΝ ΤΕ τυκοίμεθα ἐόρπον,
 ἀλλ' ΑΥΤΩC ΔΙΑ ΝΥΚΤΑ ΘΟΗΝ ΑΛΛησθαι ἄνωγας
 285 νήCΟΥ ΑΠΟΠΛΑΧθέντας, ἐν ἡεροιῇ πόντι·
 ἐκ ΝΥΚΤΩΝ Δ ΑΝεμοι χαλεποί, ἐηλήματα νηῶν,
 γίνΟΝΤΑΙ· ΠΩC κέν τις ὑπεκφύγοι αἰπὴν ὄλεθρον,
 ἦν πωC ΕΞΑΠΙΝης ἔλθῃ ἀνέμοιο θύελλα,
 ἦ νότοΥ Η ΞΕΦΥΡοιο ἐνσαέος, οἳ τε μάλιστα
 290 νῆα εἰΑΡΡΑΙCΟυσι θεῶν ἀέκητι ἀνάκτων.
 ἀλλ' ἦτΟΙ ΝΥΝ Μέν πειθώμεθα νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ
 ἐόρπον Θ ΟΠΛΙσόμεσθα θοῇ παρὰ νηὶ μένοντες·
 ΗΩΘΕΝ Δ ΑΝΑΒάντες ἐνήσομεν εὐρέι πόντι·
 ΩC ΕΦΑΘ Εὐρύλοχος, ἐπὶ δ' ἦνεον ἄλλοι ἐταῖροι.
 295 ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ δὴ γίνωσκον ὃ δὴ κακὰ μήδετο δαίμων,
 ΚΑΙ ΜΙΝ Φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδων·
 ΕΥΡΥΛΟΧ Η ΜΑλα δὴ με βιάζετε μοῖνον ὄντα.
 ΑΛΛ ΑΓΕ ΝΥΝ Μοι πάντες ὁμόσσετε καρτερὸν ὄρκον,
 Η ΚΕ ΤΙΝ ΗΕ ΒΟῶν ἀγέλην ἢ πῶν μέγ' οἰῶν
 300 ΕΥΡΩΜΕΝ· ΜΗ ποῦ τις ἀτασθαλίῃσι κακῆσιν
 Η ΒΟΥΝ ΗΕ ΤΙ ΜΗλον ἀποκτάνῃ· ἀλλὰ ἔκηλοι
 ΕCΘίετε ΒΡΩΜῃν τὴν ἀθανάτη πόρε Κίρκη.
 ΩC ἐφάμην, οἳ δ' αὐτίκ' ἀπώμνυνον ὡς ἐκέλευον.
 ΑΥτὰρ

Odyssey XII, 279-304.

The words and letters preserved in the Papyrus are printed in uncial characters.

КНР
Авт
Ж

$$\frac{2H^2}{(W)}$$

ΟΥΚΙΑ
ΣΤΑΙΝ
ΕΠΙΝΑΜ
ΤΟΥΤΑΙΑ
ΟΥΑΠΟΠΑ
ΤΗΕΙΝΔΑΙ
ΜΑΤΑΙΝΔΑΙ
ΒΕΛΑΓΗ
ΕΙΣΕΦΥ
ΒΕΛΑΤΟ
ΕΠΙΝΑ
ΑΙΟΥΤΑ
ΕΠΙΝΑ

1879
MAY 10
1880

Η
 ΚΑΡΟΤΕ
 ΚΤΙΝ
 ΕΥΡΑΔΟΧΗ
 ΑΛΛΑΔΟΧΥΝ
 ΗΚΕΤΗΝΕΒΟ
 ΕΥΡΟΜΕΣ ΜΙ
 ΕΙΣ
 ΕΥΕ
 ΕΥΕ
 ΕΥΕ

P. Oxy. 123

SOME ASSYRIAN LETTERS.

BY THE REV. C. H. W. JOHNS, *M.A.*

The appearance of Professor R. F. Harper's VIth Volume of Assyrian and Babylonian Letters will be hailed as a welcome instalment of these important documents. Dating as they do from the 7th century B.C., written for the most part to Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Ašurbânipal, they contain the reports of Assyrian officials to their king. The value of these for history is great, for the historical inscriptions leave wide gaps in the sequence of years. These letters, many of them, serve to fill up these gaps. Further, while the great inscriptions are discreetly silent as to the defeats and reverses which the various detachments of the Assyrian army suffered at various times, these despatches inform us of them. Thus no. 646 records the loss of no less than nine *bél pahâtê*, or provincial governors, presumably with a great part of their troops, during the troubles in Armenia, which may be placed in the last part of Sargon's reign.

The great difficulty about placing the events referred to in these tablets may be partly overcome by the dated documents published in *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, 3 vols., where many of the writers are named. Indeed the letters themselves were probably enclosed in dated and sealed envelopes. When these envelopes were of clay, they were broken to get at their contents, and unfortunately few scraps of such envelopes are preserved. A few of the letters themselves are actually dated, but while the year is sometimes recorded, more often only the month and day are given. Still, it is already possible to fix many approximately by events referred to or recorded elsewhere, or by the names of the officials mentioned. Needless to say the chief part of this work can only be done when all the letters are known.

Professor Harper, however, has very kindly said, that "as soon as the texts are published, they become public property, and anyone may use them for any purpose he may wish." We may well express

our gratitude for such a sportsmanlike attitude, remembering many sharp hints that till an editor has himself done what he wished to do, no one has the right to forestall him.

The present volume contains the texts of one hundred and twelve tablets. In every case the name of the writer is no longer preserved. Professor Harper has already published the texts of most of those tablets whose writers are known, and he is now, so to speak, gathering up the fragments that remain. The care and accuracy with which he edits all his texts are well known, but of course he claims no infallibility as to the traces of broken characters. Nothing but a knowledge of duplicates, or the recognition of a well known phrase, can give certainty in such cases. But duplicates of these letters rarely occur. Besides, in many cases the characters are rubbed, defaced, filled with dirt and otherwise illegible. Worse still, the impatience, or lack of skill of earlier students, led them to scratch the characters to pieces in the attempt to clean them with a pin or knife. Despite of all these drawbacks, the edition of these texts leaves little to be desired. Some of them had attracted the present writer's attention years ago, and rarely indeed do his copies give a better reading.

There are few groups of texts in this volume which can be read together, as could the letters of Adadi-šum-ušur, Bêl-ibnî, Sennacherib, Ašur-rišûa, etc., in former volumes, which were so interesting. But the fragments here given will doubtless be affiliated to the better preserved specimens, as they are more carefully studied. At first sight some seem hopelessly disconnected.

That these seemingly unintelligible fragments will ultimately yield valuable information, when all are available for comparison, no one can doubt. Thus in Dr. Harper's Vol. III, p. 275, we have a letter clearly from the king to Nabû-ibašši. The king writes concerning some horses which Nabû-ibašši had written about. But now we find that K. 176 in Vol. VI, p. 587 *f.*, contains, in ll. 8-18 of the reverse, a duplicate of the former letter, with slight variations, introduced by *umâ*, 'now.' The variants are of value. Thus while in K. 578, in line 11, we have the sign usually read *išdu*, which is quite unintelligible, in K. 176 we have *BE-ma*, or *šumma*, 'if.' Hence either in K. 578, *išdu* is an error, or the sign has the new reading *šumma*. In line 12 we may complete the signs before *nise* as *šumma*; and in line 14 restore *DU* before *ni*. So in K. 176, rev., l. 12, the last sign is an error for *ni*. In K. 176, no. 15,

the number of horses, 200, given by K. 578, is omitted. Most important is that while K. 578, rev., l. 5, has *ina kâtâšunu ussibilakka*; K. 176, rev., l. 15, has *ina kâtâšunu na-aš-su-u-ni*. Hence there can be no doubt that *našû* means 'to bring.' Such variations as *u* for *û*, *ar* for *âr*, are only graphic variants.

Nabû-ibašši, or Nabû-ušabši as his name is often read, was governor of Erech in the reign of Ašurbânipal. He is known as the writer of at least a dozen letters, of which Dr. Harper has already published seven, pp. 267-275. The king wrote four letters to him, of which Dr. Harper has given three, pp. 275, 302, 556. He is named in about a dozen more, e.g., K. 1012, p. 488. Whether all these occurrences refer to the same person must remain an open question at present. But when Nabû-ibašši refers to Erech or to the events which we know are connected with Erech, we may safely suppose him to be the *šaku*, or governor, who heads the list of witnesses to a sale of a house there in B.C. 648 (see S. A. Smith's *Miscellaneous Texts*, K. 433). It is curious that the letter to the king from Nabû-ibašši, Harper, p. 556, is also dated, a somewhat rare thing. This date is B.C. 650. Further, from K. 528, Harper, p. 272, we learn that Nabû-ibašši suffered severely from the revolt of Bêl-iķiša, the prince of Gambûlu, who died in Elam, probably before the invasion of Babylonia by Teumman. As Teumman was followed by Ummanigaš, Tammaritu, and Indabigaš, all before B.C. 649, it is clear that Nabû-ibašši was governor in Erech in stirring times. Šamaš-šum-ukîn in his great rebellion against Ašurbânipal seized Erech, so that Nabû-ibašši was probably driven out, but reinstated later. Presumably, as Babylon was already besieged in B.C. 650, this seizure of Erech took place before then.

It is natural to suppose that the horses about which the king wrote in K. 578 were the same as those mentioned by Nabû-ibašši in K. 514 (Harper, p. 271), 'two white horses, with harness and trappings of silver, with fastenings of bronze, which the king of Elam had sent to Ištar of Erech.' This was clearly meant to win over the priesthood in Erech to friendship with Elam. Nabû-ibašši would not hand them over to the temple, but proposed to send them to Ašurbânipal. This he seemingly was unable to carry out, for the king says in K. 578, 'as for those horses which you were sending me, as yet, you do not send them.' But the king evidently saw the predicament in which Nabû-ibašši found himself, so he sends Ašur-gimil-tirra, with his forces, 'who will do what is right.'

Further, evidently in response to a request, he sends Bêl-eṭir and Arbai, two *rab-kiširé*, with two hundred horses as a reinforcement for the anxious governor, who would have to face the king of Elam's resentment. K. 176 is too fragmentary for us to be sure of the result, but it appears that for some reason Nabû-ibašši did not get his reinforcements. The reinforcements, *bêl-paḥâti*, 'did not come.' Indeed some other cities seem to have sent to him for help. When he saw his position, he says, 'he had no strength, he was as dead.' All he could say to those who applied to him was that the *bêl-paḥâti* of Laḥiri and of Arabḥa, both cities on the borders of Elam, were with them. For his part he says 'I do not fear,' and then he quotes in full, as we saw at first, the king's promise to him. But he says nothing of having sent the horses, unless indeed in the part which has disappeared. Perhaps they were sent and intercepted by Elamite troops.

It would lead us too far, besides being premature, till we have all the documents before us, to attempt to make out all Nabû-ibašši's affairs.

The letter which appears on p. 589 is interesting from many points of view. It appears to deal with the resettlement of the people of Kumê, a city which was prominent in the disturbances in Armenia at the end of Sargon's reign. These have been very ably dealt with by Mr. R. C. Thompson, in the *American Journal of Semitic Studies*, Vol. XVII, April. But the Ištar-dûri, here a *mutir pûti*, in line 6, can hardly be other than the Ištar-dûri, *mutir pûti*, on K. 1359, col. III, line 21, see *P.S.B.A.*, Vol. IX, pt. 7. That list of officials certainly belongs to a date not earlier than Esarhaddon, probably in Ašurbânipal's reign. Hence we must assume that Ašurbânipal retained the greater part of Armenia under his control. But this letter is no less interesting for its new words. In line 4, *unḳu* is clearly used in the sense of a sealed order. But what does *illibini* mean in line 7? It may be connected with the *libini* of K. 378, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, No. 90.

So again, what is the *iṣu zikpi* of reverse, line 5? A stalk of a plant, or a dagger point, seems unlikely. The *kuppu* may be a cage, if the *udini* in line 6 are 'birds.' Here perhaps also the *KAR-HU-DAAN* in the same line is a bird name. In line 6, the phrase *kaḳkad ili ešši ša arḥi Addari*, means 'exactly at the new moon of Adar.' This was pointed out to me by Professor Jensen, see *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, Vol. III, p. 13.

The letter on p. 594 is clearly from Uppaḥḥir-Bêl, who wrote S. 760 (Harper, p. 447). Not only does the name end in Bêl, but the form of address is exactly the same. There, as here, the writer says he keeps guard in the city Ḥarda. Hence it is very likely that in line 7 we should restore the name Argista, of which the text shows traces of the final *ta*. But this is by no means a duplicate of S. 760. I regard it as probably later, and that it gives the key to the situation in Armenia at the end of the reign of Sargon. Ursa was dead, and Argistis, who succeeded him, was a vassal king. He was now in mortal fear of the Cimmerians, and had sent for aid from his suzerain. Sargon, through Upaḥḥir-Bêl, had reassured him, "we are your safety, hold fast the fortresses." But Sargon's commanders were not able to move up forces in time to save Argistis from a bad defeat. This was reported to Sennacherib, acting as regent in Assyria during his father's absence in Babylon, and by him sent on to Sargon.

The example on p. 617, K. 956, is of course a letter in so far as that it is addressed to the king. It uses the same formula of address as Sennacherib to his father Sargon. But it simply enumerates a long list of presents, *naḥartu*, or salaries, *madattu*, for various members of the royal house and court. As such it has a very close affinity with the lists of objects published in *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, Vol. II, nos. 687, 818, 1063, etc. It is not unlikely that no. 1129 is part of the missing portion. Hence I published a first copy of the texts as no. 810. It is a great pleasure to find that Professor Harper's practised eye confirms so many of my readings.

The order of the personages is of importance. At the head stands *ékallu*, 'the palace,' clearly a mode of indicating the King, next the *sinnistu ékalli*, clearly the Queen, then the *mâr šarri*, or Crown Prince. The *sukallu dannu*, the Tartan, the *sartennu*, the *sukallu šanû*, the Rabshakeh, the officer *ša pāni ékalli*, the officer *ša eli bitāni*, the *aba mâti*, the *mukil apāti*, the *šalšu*; follow in an order confirmed by the order of the Eponyms and of the witnesses to court deeds. The list is one that is characteristic of Esarhaddon's and Ašurbânipal's times.

The allowances made to these various personages form a regular gradation. What the items may be still remains obscure in many cases. But we can make out some of them. Thus the *madattu* for 'the palace,' ll. 8-10 was 2 talents of silver, 20 minas of silver in lieu of *SU-AM-SI*, 50 *KU-KIT-MEŠ*, 10 *KU-MAT-TIN*, 3 *ḫarpât*

lâ maḫarte nûni, 20 *lattu nûni*, 1,000 *nûnê*. At first sight *SU-AM-SI* should be *mašak piri*, 'elephant's skin.' But a compound ideogram does not always denote what its elements seem to indicate, and the meaning of *piru* may be different here. Perhaps we shall not be far wrong in taking this item 'as twenty minas of silver for leather.' The *KU-KIT* may well be read *ṣubātu kitû*, perhaps 'wool garments.' The *kitû* seems to denote the material, and, in some cases, it was wool, but *iṣu GAD* occurs also. That suggests that perhaps 'cotton' or 'hemp' was used also. The *KU-MAT-TIN* may be *ṣubātu mat-tin*, where *mattin* is derived from *tenû*, a synonym of *irṣu*, 'a couch.' If so, perhaps the *KU-MAT-TIN* is a 'night-gown.' The *maḫartu* was a vessel or measure, used for measuring fodder, and hence probably 'a cauldron.' Here a *ḫarpât lâ maḫartu* may mean a lesser measure, used in the place of the usual cauldron. That *HA* is the ideogram for *nûnu*, 'fish,' is rendered probable by the amounts of fish mentioned in the next few lines. That we are to read *lât-tu*, not *mat-tu*, or *šat-tu*, is rendered certain by the variants *la-at-tu* which occur on the reverse. This *lattu* is probably a vessel of some sort. It is less likely that the name *lattu* is that of a 'fish.' The 'thousand fishes' hardly requires comment. All this was a *madattu*, probably an annual contribution from some city, or persons, due to 'the palace.' Then follows the *namurtu*, or *naḫartu*, the extra present above what was due, 'the gratification.' Perhaps this was none the less regularly expected.

The *naḫartu*, in ll. 11-12, begins with one *GIL ḫurâši*, perhaps 'a crown of gold.' Then 20 *kappi kaspi*. The *kappi* of silver, or plates of silver, are continually named with minas and shekels, as if of definite size and weight. Then we have 4 *KU MAT-TIN pu-ši*, 'four white (bleached) night-gowns.' The above *madattu* and *naḫartu* were for 'the palace.'

It is unnecessary to go through the list item by item, for to each official a number of garments and a quantity of fish are assigned. It will be sufficient to note any fresh items. Thus, in line 12, we have 5 *ṣubātu zamur mâṭ Hāsai*. What *zamar* here may be is difficult to say. Evidently, at first sight, the name of a garment, but whether denoting purpose, colour, or material is not clear. That *zamar* was the name of something used for food, follows from the pots of *zamar*, or *zamri* offered to the gods. There was a *zamru* planted in gardens, see my *Assyrian Doomsday Book*. It seems to have been used to make an intoxicating drink, *BI* = *šikaru*. Now it seems likely that

the *amêhi LUL* is to be read *zammeru*. Hence it is not unlikely that *BI-LUL* is read *šakaru zamru*. Then the *amêlu BI-LUL* would be one who made, or had care of, the drink called *zamru*. But we may go further. In some cases *BI-LUL* has a phonetic complement *pi* added. Hence as *LUL* can be read *LUP*, we have the drink called *šikâr luppi*. At once one thinks of *suluppu*, the usual reading of the word for the 'date.' But this may be *SU luppu*, perhaps read *zumru luppu*, where *zumru* would be connected with *zamru*. If this be allowable, the *amêlu BI-LUL* was a maker of date wine, and the frequently named high official *rab BI-LUL* was the chief cellarer, probably identical in office with the *rab šakî*, chief of the 'drinks,' the chief cup-bearer, from another point of view. But all this does not explain a garment called *zamar*. Perhaps we should read *šamar*. These garments came from, or were after the pattern of those made in the land of Ḫasû, mentioned in III, R. 9, 28, by Tiglath Pileser; III, R. 15-IV, 14, by Esarhaddon.

The reverse seems to repeat the same numeration, with different quantities, and some variations in the items, probably referring to a different occasion.

The letter K. 996, p. 620, is obviously from Ardi-Nanâ, as a comparison of the form of address with the letters p. 97 ff. will show. As in several others the great Court Physician is reporting the state of health of one of the king's sons. The patient tells him that all his limbs are well. What the other symptoms were can hardly be made out in the broken state of the tablet. But the mention of certain oils and drugs, the stone *burallu* amongst them, may lead to a recognition when the medical tablets are all published.

It may be questioned whether K. 1044, published also in *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, Vol. II, no. 778, is really a letter tablet; K. 1140 certainly is not. The latter text, p. 660, is part of a 'contract,' recording the sale of a slave, *ardu šuatu*, by Mukinu-Āšur to Rimâni-Adadi. But it is good to have a second copy of the same text for comparison.

These few notes may serve to call attention to the importance from all points of view of this unique collection of Assyrian texts, which, difficult as they are to understand fully, are a veritable mine of information.

THE MYTHOLOGICAL TEXT FROM MEMPHIS AGAIN.

BY PROFESSOR JAMES H. BREASTED.

With respect to Mr. Read and Mr. Bryant's further remarks on the Mythological Text from Memphis,* it is sufficient to call the reader's attention to the fact that these gentlemen first read the inscription thus: the first four lines from right to left, the next two from left to right, and the rest again from right to left. They published their translation of it thus read, with defense of it in their commentary.† Having thus accomplished the amazing feat of *reading an inscription in both directions alternately*, they publish a second article, a defense of their reading from right to left, which never offers the reader the slightest hint that they have been, and still are, obliged to read part of the inscription in the other direction. As they themselves admit (pp. 209, 210) that the order of *two* lines being once determined, "the true direction of the reading is established," they have settled the case against themselves by the witness of these two lines alone (59, 60, their 5, 6). The situation is finally thus: if grammar and dictionary can be distorted into making sense, Mr. Read and Mr. Bryant would have us read backward; but if not, they emend the text;‡ and when this procedure is impossible, they read the other way for awhile.§

As to particular readings, I have only to add that, seeing that the difference between two such common signs as $\int$ (whm) and $\int$ (nm) is unknown to Mr. Read and Mr. Bryant, it is asking much to expect Egyptologists to accept their readings. If Mr. Read and Mr. Bryant will use a mirror and repeatedly throw light from all directions successively on every questionable sign,|| and if they will also apply many years' experience in the constant reading of stones, they will see what is to be seen on the stone in the British Museum.

* *Proceedings*, 1902, pp. 206 ff.

† *Ibid.*, 1901, 181 (14).

‡ *E.g.*, ll. 20b, 19 (their 43, 44).

§ Maspero, in his essay on the document which has just appeared (*Recueil*, XXIV, 68 ff.), of course reads from left to right, in accordance with my numbering of the lines, though his interpretation differs from mine.

|| The stone stands under a window against the same wall, so that very little light falls upon it.

This controversy must end here.—EDITOR.

HAMMURABI'S CODE OF LAWS.

"THE LAMENT OF THE DAUGHTER OF SIN."

BY THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, *LL.D.*

In all probability but little has been found of late, in what may be called the Babylonian East (the sphere of influence of that ancient people), which can compare in interest with the French excavations on the site of Susa, in Persia. From the number of the Semitic inscriptions found there, as well as from the personal names, it seems certain, as has been already pointed out by Prof. Scheil, that at least a portion of the tract anciently called Elam was Semitic, and explains how Elam could be called, in Gen. x, 22, one of the sons of Shem, named before Asshur, Arpakshad, Lud, and Aram. In fact, the language spoken there at the earliest period was Semitic Babylonian, Elamite being, to all appearance, an alien tongue, which later became the language of the country, though the original Semitic dialect was very long in dying out.

It is not my intention to speak of all the interesting objects which have been found on the site of Susa, but only of one of the most important of them, namely, the splendid stele inscribed with the laws of Hammurabi. These remarks, also, can hardly be otherwise than superficial, mainly on account of the limited time at my disposal.

This exceedingly noteworthy monument measures about 7 ft. 6 in. in height, and is made of a dark-coloured stone described as diorite. It is covered with inscription on every side, except where the bas-relief representing king Hammurabi before the Sungod is, and a portion which has been erased, making a considerable gap. This, Prof. Scheil suggests, is due to the desire on the part of the Elamite king, Šutruk-Nahhunte, who ruled about a thousand years later, to place a record of his own upon the monument, as he had done on several others found at the same place. For some reason, however, his name was not inscribed on it, and though the probability that Prof. Scheil is right is very great, some doubt concerning it will most likely always exist. Whether, therefore, it is part of the spoils of

an Elamite raid into Babylonia, or whether the monument was set up at Susa or elsewhere in Elam by Hammurabi himself, time alone will show. The monument itself gives no definite information as to the site for which it was intended, and this may, by chance, be regarded as an indication that it was for some city which Hammurabi hoped to conquer, and would account for its presence in Elamite territory.

The code of laws is preceded by a long introduction, in which the king speaks of what he had done for the country which he ruled, and for its temples, stating, at the end, that he had instituted law and justice for the happiness (lit. "the good of the flesh") of his people. Though this part is of considerable interest on account of the mythological and other allusions made, it is impossible to touch here upon the points worthy of mention. From a Biblical standpoint, that referring to the city of Larsa, which is identified with the Ellasar of the xivth chapter of Genesis, is probably the most interesting. The king here speaks of himself as *qarrad gamil Larsa*, "the warrior benefiting Larsa," which probably, as Prof. Scheil notes, refers to the driving forth of the foreign (Elamite) dynasty from that district.

The Code of Laws, which then immediately follows, Prof. Scheil estimates as having originally consisted of about 280 sections. These, as might be expected, are of a most diverse nature, and, beginning with attempts to thwart the ends of justice, proceed to speak of theft, kidnapping, fugitive slaves, housebreaking, brigandage, laws as to the hiring and letting of fields, orchards, etc., the borrowing of money for agricultural purposes, commercial travellers, the duties of the women who sold drink, deposit and distraint, the laws of marriage, adultery, inheritance, the position of female slaves (bearing upon the story of Hagar and Sarah), apprenticeship, adoption, violence (in the case of the higher classes it was "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth"), medical treatment (the penalty for an unsuccessful operation, causing injury to the person operated upon, was such as to discourage any but the very boldest of them), house-building, navigation and freighting, hiring of animals and men, pasturing, and hiring of boats and other things. These and many other matters are treated of, and not only is the law laid down, but the pay, for instance, of a workman, or the amount of hire for objects required for temporary use, etc., etc., are indicated.

Naturally a text like this, with 3,638 lines of writing in all—it is true that they are short—even in its somewhat defective state, cannot be otherwise than of considerable value, not only for the laws of the Babylonians (and probably for the neighbouring nations as well), but also for their manners and customs. Father Scheil has published a most praiseworthy translation of this important inscription in the IVth Vol. of the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, under the direction of the Délégué Général, M. de Morgan, and every one will admit that he has done his work well, especially when it is borne in mind that the inscription has been placed in the hands of scholars with the least possible delay—indeed, the hearty thanks of all the Assyriological world are his due.

It is to be noted that, in connection with this long inscription, there is a large number of inscribed tablets which it illustrates, and which are, in their turn, illustrated by it. The inscriptions of the "B" collection in the British Museum, found at Tel Sifr, and a quantity of similar texts from Sippar (Abu-Habbah) and its neighbourhood, as well as some from Larsa, both in the British Museum and other museums of Europe and America, all bear upon it, and will be duly studied in connection with it. This code of laws, moreover, must have formed the basis of the legal decisions of Babylonia also in later times, of which many examples—notably those of the reign of Nabonidus and the later kings of Babylonia—exist. How far the laws of the ancient Babylonians may have filtered into the legal systems of the West will also have to be studied.

That which strikes the student at the outset, however, is the similarity existing in the diction between this code of the time of Hammurabi and a number of fragments of inscriptions of the time of Aššur-banī-āpli and the later kings of Babylonia, both in the British Museum and in the museum of Berlin. The latter has been published by Peiser in his thesis: *Jurisprudentiæ Babylonicæ quæ supersunt*, 1890, with illustrations from contracts and law-documents of the period of the late Babylonian empire. The fragments in the British Museum, as far as they were known, were published by Meissner in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Vol. III, pp. 493–523. Another similar code of laws, probably derived from or based upon that of Hammurabi, is preserved upon the tablet 82–7–14, 864, found by Mr. Rassam at Abu-Habbah, and has been published by Peiser in the *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu*

Berlin,* and will form a valuable basis, when complete, not only for a comparison of the two codes, but also for the changes in legal procedure and in the manners and customs of the people of Babylonia which had come about between the time of Hammurabi and the later kings. The period to which the laws of the more ancient code belonged had already been accurately stated by Meissner, who attributed them to the time of the first dynasty of Babylon—that to which Hammurabi belongs. Prof. Fried. Delitzsch, however, in his paper upon the fragments published by Meissner, goes, with great acuteness, a step farther, and conjectures that their codification was due to no other than Hammurabi himself. The monument published by Father Scheil would seem to have placed this beyond a doubt.

But all the time there has existed in the British Museum absolute proof as to this last theory, and the inscription proving it has been in the hands of scholars since the latter half of last year. The publication in which it appeared is *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*, Part XIII, plates 46 and 47 (Bu. 91-5-9, 221), under the heading “Legends of Early Kings. [Mention of Hammurabi, king of Babylon.]”† Portions of seven columns are preserved—four on the obverse, and three on the reverse. From the colophon, we see that this was the last of a series consisting of 5, 15, or 25 tablets, and that they were called *dināni*, “the laws,” probably (as the Babylonian duplicate preserved at Berlin suggests) with the additional title *Ninu ilu širum*, “When El the supreme,” the first line of Hammurabi’s introduction on the stele published by Prof. Scheil. To the lower part of the first column which is preserved of this tablet, moreover, there is hardly any doubt that the British Museum fragment K. 11571 belongs, as the inscription which it bears not only adds several lines to that part, but also completes a couple of lines of the next column.

This text, Bu. 91-5-9, 221, added to K. 11571, has, therefore, the portions of four laws of the code of Hammurabi, corresponding with sections 277-280 of Prof. Scheil, and between 70 and 80 lines of Hammurabi’s concluding peroration. The translation of the

* For a specimen of these, see the paper “Babylonian Legal Documents,” etc., in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. VIII, Part 2, (1884), p. 273.

† It is likewise described in the catalogue as a legend.

laws which are inscribed thereon, as far as they are preserved, will serve as specimens of texts of this class :—

Šum - ma a - we - lum	<i>If a man</i>
ârda âmta	<i>male slave, female slave</i>
i - ša - am - ma	<i>purchase and</i>
ârah - šu la - am im - ta - la*	<i>his month has not fulfilled, (and)</i>
bi - in - ni† e - li - šu	<i>an infirmity upon him</i>
im - ta - ku - ut	<i>falls,</i>
a - na na - di - na - ni - ma ‡	<i>to the seller then</i>
u - ta - ar §	<i>he shall return (him),</i>
ša - a - ā - mā - nu - um	<i>the buyer</i>
kaspa iš - ku - lu i - la - ki	<i>the silver he has paid shall take back.</i>

If a man has bought a male or female slave, and before the end of a month an infirmity fall upon him, then he shall be returned to the seller, and the buyer shall receive his money back.

Šum - ma - a we - lum	<i>If a man</i>
ârda âmta	<i>male slave, female slave</i>
i - ša - am - ma	<i>purchase and</i>
ba - aq - ri ir - ta - ši	<i>there is a re-demand,</i>
na - di - na - an - šu	<i>his seller</i>
ba - aq - ri - šu ¶	<i>his re-demand</i>
i - ip - pa - il	<i>shall respond to.</i>

If a man has bought a male or female slave, and there is a claim upon him, he shall respond to the claim.

In a fragment of a tablet which probably preceded the above, and which Prof. Scheil places in the gap where the Elamite king is supposed to have polished out the inscription in order to insert his own, Hammurabi's Code has enabled him to improve greatly the rendering as hitherto given, and I see from some notes of a paper recently read at Cambridge by the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, which I have had the privilege of reading, that he practically agrees with

* The text published by Prof. Scheil has *la im-la-ma*.

† Scheil's text : *bi-en-ni* (*benni*).

‡ Scheil's text has *šu*.

§ Scheil's text here adds *ma* ("and").

|| Do. *i-li-ki*.

¶ Scheil's text omits *šu*.

that restoration. The number of the tablet in the British Museum is Rm. 277, and the text as restored by Prof. Sheil reads as follows:—

[Šum - ma a - we - lum	<i>[If a man</i>
kaspu it - ti tamkari	<i>silver from an agent</i>
il - ki - ma	<i>has taken and</i>
kirâ suluppi]	<i>an orchard of dates]</i>
a - na tamkari [id - di - in]	<i>to the agent [has given],</i>
suluppa [ma - la]	<i>“the dates [as much as]</i>
i - na kirî [- ia]	<i>in my orchard</i>
ib - ba - aš - šu - u	<i>are</i>
a - na kaspi - ka ta - ba - al	<i>take away for thy money,”</i>
iq - bi - šu	<i>he has said to him,</i>
tamkaru šu - u	<i>that agent</i>
u - ul im - ma - ag - ga - ra	<i>(if) not he is consenting,</i>
suluppu ša i - na kirî	<i>the dates which in the orchard</i>
ib - ba - aš - šu - u	<i>are,</i>
be - el kirî i - li - ki - ma	<i>the lord of the orchard shall take,</i>
	<i>and</i>
kaspa u šibat - su	<i>the silver and its interest</i>
ša bi - i dup - pi - šu	<i>according to his tablet</i>
tamkara i - ip - pa - al - ma	<i>he will return to the agent, and</i>
suluppu wa - at - ru - tim	<i>the overplus dates</i>
ša i - na kirî	<i>which in the orchard</i>
ib - ba - aš - šu - u	<i>are,</i>
be - el kirî - ma i - l[i - ki]	<i>the lord of the orchard will take.</i>

If a man has borrowed money from an agent, and has given to the agent a date-orchard as security, saying: “Take all the dates which are in my orchard for thy money”—if that agent consent not, the lord of the orchard shall take the dates which are in the orchard, and return to the agent the silver and its interest, according to his tablet; and the lord of the orchard may take any surplus dates which are in the orchard.

To all appearance this law is simply intended to show, that the proprietor of a plantation of any kind is not bound by his word if the other contracting party withhold his consent. Though he may have offered the whole of the contents of the orchard originally, he could only be expected to return the exact amount due—any overplus was his own.

It is not my intention at present to examine in detail this

remarkable text, my principal design in writing these notes having been mainly to bring it to the notice of the members of the Society. It is an inscription which appeals to a wide circle of students, and as such cannot fail to be valued by all thinking men, whether interested in the history and antiquities of the Semitic East or not. The laws of Hammurabi, who must henceforth be regarded as one of the foremost names in history, are the production of a people boasting of a long existence as a nation, with experience of the world, as it then was, and of society, going back into the dim and uncertain ages of pre-historic man. Wider in extent, it is less detailed than are the laws of the ancient Hebrews, from which it differs in many noteworthy ways. Nevertheless a comparison of the two systems cannot fail to be in the highest degree instructive, and may even throw light on points in both at present obscure. If one can at the present time express an opinion, the laws of the Babylonians would seem not only to have been more just, but also less severe in their penalties.

“THE LAMENT OF THE DAUGHTER OF SIN.”

A number of very valuable inscriptions have been published in Part XV of the British Museum publication, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, some of them being of considerable interest and importance. Among them are several so-called Sumerian addresses to deities—Mullil or Ellil (the god Bel), Nergal, Mer (Addu or Hadad), Enzu (Sin), Dumu-zi(da) (Tammuz), the goddess Bau, and Nin-gir-gilu. Of these the addresses to Dumuzi(da)—Tumu-zi(da) would be better, and nearer the Hebrew form—are noteworthy, one of them, No. 15,795, being similar to the hymns to Tammuz published in the fourth volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, plates 27 (No. 1), 30 (No. 2), and *Additions and Corrections*, p. 7 (the addition to plate 27), in each of which six lines agree with lines 4–9 of the obverse of the newly-published text.

More interesting still, however, is No. 23,117 (plates 24 and 25), which turns out to be a duplicate of the poetical composition which I have provisionally called “The Lament of the Daughter of Sin,” and of which I published a fragment in the *Proceedings* for February, 1895. The text of this new version differs in part, and seems to be much longer—the variants, too, will probably turn out to be of value.

A similar inscription, and seemingly one of the same series, is that which Prof. Haupt published (from my transcription) in his

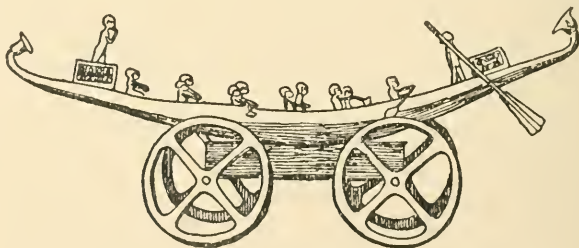
Akkadische Sumerische Keilschrifttexte, pp. 126-132, and the text in Reisner's *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen*, pl. 60, seems to be very similar in style. I hope to return to this inscription in a future communication, but at present it is only needful to notice that, though the goddess speaks of "my father Sin" (*Proceedings* for Feb., 1895, p. 71), in the inscription published by Prof. Haupt she calls herself "daughter of Bel." My provisional title may, therefore, require modification.

NOTES.

AN EGYPTIAN FOUR-WHEELED CHARIOT. Since the publication of my note upon the Antiquity of the four-wheeled Chariot (*Proceedings*, XXIV, p. 130), I have been able to secure a representation of an actual specimen of an Egyptian four-wheeled vehicle of about 1600 B.C. This is a wagon or "chassis" of wood, made as a transport for a model of a boat, and formed part of the collection of jewellery and other objects discovered in the coffin of queen Aah-hetep. The axles and the wheels, which like those of all early Egyptian chariots have four spokes, are of bronze.

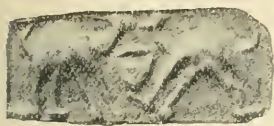
In one of the versions of the Creation legend, translated from the Babylonian by Dr. Pinches, a Constellation is mentioned called Marzida, *i.e.*, "the long chariot." This was probably the term for a "four-wheeler," and Mr. Robert Brown, junior, says he is certain it stands for the seven Wain stars, whose configuration shows two sets of wheels.

J. OFFORD.



FROM PETRIE'S HIST. OF EGYPT. VOL. II.

AN EGYPTIAN REPRESENTATION OF THE CAMEL. Among the Egyptian Antiquities presented to the Harrow School Museum by the late Sir G. Wilkinson, is a steatite seal or stamp engraved with figures of two camels standing opposite to each other, and having, apparently, a sack or net of forage between them. In Sir G. Wilkinson's MS. catalogue (now in the Vaughan Library, Harrow) this seal is described as the only known Egyptian representation of the camel, and is said to have come from Taphis, in Nubia. I give a full size illustration of it, as none has, I believe, ever before been published.



W. L. NASH.

A RING OF NEFER-TI-TI. This ring with the *Aten* name of the wife of Amenhotep IV, was found at Tell el-Amarna, and bought at Luxor last year by Mr. Cole. It is made of very hard yellow coloured stone, perhaps chosen as representing gold. Rings with Nefer-ti-ti's name are somewhat rare, and this is a very fine specimen.



W. L. NASH.

ERRATUM.

I wish to make a correction to one of my Notes in "Extracts from my Note Book, V" (*Proc.*, XXIV, 248). Under 32 b. I described a lapis lazuli bead in Mr. McGregor's collection as being inscribed with the name of Takeloth II. I should have written Nes-ba-ne-dedet; the Smendes of Manetho's list. This king's full protocol has been published by M. Daressy in M. Maspero's "*Recueil des travaux*," Vol. X, page 135.

PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday, December 10, 1902, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

STANLEY A. COOK, *M.A.*: "A Hebrew Papyrus with a pre-Massoretic Version of the Decalogue."

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

AMÉLINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.

————— Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.

————— La Morale Égyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.

AMIAUD, A., AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.

————— Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.

BAETHGEN, Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte. Der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden.

BISSING, BARON VON, "Metallgefäße" (*Cat. Gen. du Musée du Caire*).

BLASS, A. F., Eudoxi ars Astronomica qualis in Charta Aegyptiaca superest.

BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.

BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I-III (Brugsch).

————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par II. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)

BUDGE, E. A. WALLIS, *Litt. D.*, "The Mummy."

————— Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

BURCKHARDT, Eastern Travels.

CASSEL, PAULUS, Zophnet Paneach Aegyptische Deutungen.

CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862-1873.

CRUM, W. E., "Coptic Monuments" (*Cat. Gen. du Musée du Caire*).

DARESSY, G., "Ostraca" (*Cat. Cairo Museum*).

————— "Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois" (*Cat. Cairo Museum*).

DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.

————— 2nd series, 1869.

————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1886.

————— Tempei-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.

EBERS, G., Papyrus Ebers.

ERMAN, Papyrus Westcar.

Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.

GOLÉNISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.

————— Vingt-quatre Tablettes Cappadociennes de la Collection de.

GRANT-BEY, Dr., The Ancient Egyptian Religion and the Influence it exerted on the Religions that came in contact with it.

HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.

HOMMEL, Dr., Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens. 1892.

JASTROW, M., A Fragment of the Babylonian "Dibbarra" Epic.

JENSEN, Die Kosmologie der Babylonier.

JEREMIAS, Tyrus bis zur Zeit Nubukadnezar's Geschichtliche Skizze mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Keilschriftlichen Quellen.

JOACHIM, H., Papyrus Ebers, das Älteste Buch über Heilkunde.

LEDERER, Die Biblische Zeitrechnung vom Auszuge aus Aegypten bis zum Beginne der Babylonische Gefangenschaft mit Berücksichtigung der Resultate der Assyriologie und der Aegyptologie.

LEDRAIN, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.

LEFÈBURE, Le Mythe Osirien. 2^{me} partie. "Osiris."

LEGRAIN, G., Le Livre des Transformations. Papyrus démotique du Louvre.

LEHMANN, Samassumukin König von Babylonien 668 v. Chr., p. xiv, 173; 47 plates.

LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.

MARIETTE, "Monuments divers."

———— "Dendera."

MARUCHI, Monumenta Papyracea Aegyptia.

MASPERO, G., "Annales du service des Antiquités de l'Égypte."

MÜLLER, D. H., Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien.

POGNON, Les Inscriptions Babyloniennes du Wadi Brissa.

RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchy.

ROBIOU, Croyances de l'Égypte à l'époque des Pyramides.

———— Recherches sur le Calendrier en Égypte et sur le chronologie des Lagides.

SAINTE MARIE, Mission à Carthage.

SARZEC, Découvertes en Chaldée.

SCHAEFFER, Commentationes de papyro medicinali Lipsiensis.

SCHOUW, Charta papyracea graece scripta Musei Borgiani Velitris.

SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.

STRAUSS and TORNEY, Der Altägyptische Götterglaube.

VISSER, I., Hebreuwsche Archaeologie. Utrecht, 1891.

WALTHER, J., Les Découvertes de Nineve et de Babylone au point de vue biblique. Lausanne, 1890.

WILCKEN, M., Actenstücke aus der Königl. Bank zu Theben.

WILTZKE, Der Biblische Simson der Ägyptische Horus-Ra.

WINCKLER, HUGO, Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna. Vols. I and II.

———— Textbuch-Keilinschriftliches zum Alten Testament.

WESSELEY, C., Die Pariser Papyri des Fundes von El Fajum.

Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch., Vol. XX to Vol. XXXII, 1866 to 1878.

ZIMMERN, H., Die Assyriologie als Hilfswissenschaft für das Studium des Alten Testaments.

THE LIBRARY.

BOOK-BINDING FUND.

The request for Subscriptions towards the cost of binding some, at least, of the books in the Society's library, has met with the following response:—

	£	s.	d.
Rev. C. H. W. Johns	5	0	0
W. E. Crum	5	0	0
Rev. Jas. Marshall	5	0	0
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The Rt. Rev. The Bishop of Shrewsbury	2	2	0
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Miss Rucker	1	1	0
F. D. Mocatta	5	0	0
F. Legge	1	0	0

It is hoped that other Members may be willing to assist in carrying out this—most urgently needed—work.

W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A.,
Secretary.

Society of Biblical Archaeology.

NOTICE.

Subscriptions to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount, £1 is., at once to the Secretary.

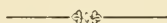
PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-SECOND SESSION, 1902.

Seventh Meeting, 10th December, 1902.

F. D. MOCATTA, *F.S.A., Vice-President,*

IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From F. Legge:—*L'aile nord du pylône d'Amenophis III à Karnak*, par MM. Georges Legrain et Edmond Naville. 4to. Paris, 1902. *Ann. du Musée Guimet.*

From the Author:—William J. Furnival. *Researches on leadless glazes.* Stone. Staff. 8vo. 1898.

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, *S.J.* *Di alcuni criterii incerti nella Paletnologia Archeologia e storia antica.* *Civiltà Cattolica*, Nov., 1902.

From the Author:—Rev. C. Boutflower. Tiglath Pileser, king of Babylon. The key to Isaiah xiii, i to xiv, 27. Parts 1 and 2. *The Churchman*, October, November, 1902.

From the Author:—Prof. Valdemar Schmidt. Les Cercueils Égyptiens de la Société de Géographie de Lisbonne. 8vo. Lisbon, 1902. *Bol. da Soc. de Geogr. de Lisboa*.

From Lady Renouf:—The Life-work of Sir P. Le Page Renouf. Vol. I. 8vo. Paris, 1902.

From W. L. Nash, *F.S.A.*:—Congrès Provincial des Orientalistes Français, première session, 1875. 8vo. Paris, 1878.

From E. Perowne:—Actes du premier Congrès International d'histoire des Religions. 8vo. Paris, 1900.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society:—

J. Rendel Harris, 5, Park Terrace Cambridge.
Mrs. Stovin, 17, Connaught Square, Hyde Park, W.
G. E. F. Pollard, 70, South Audley Street, W.
Messrs. Loescher and Co. Rome.

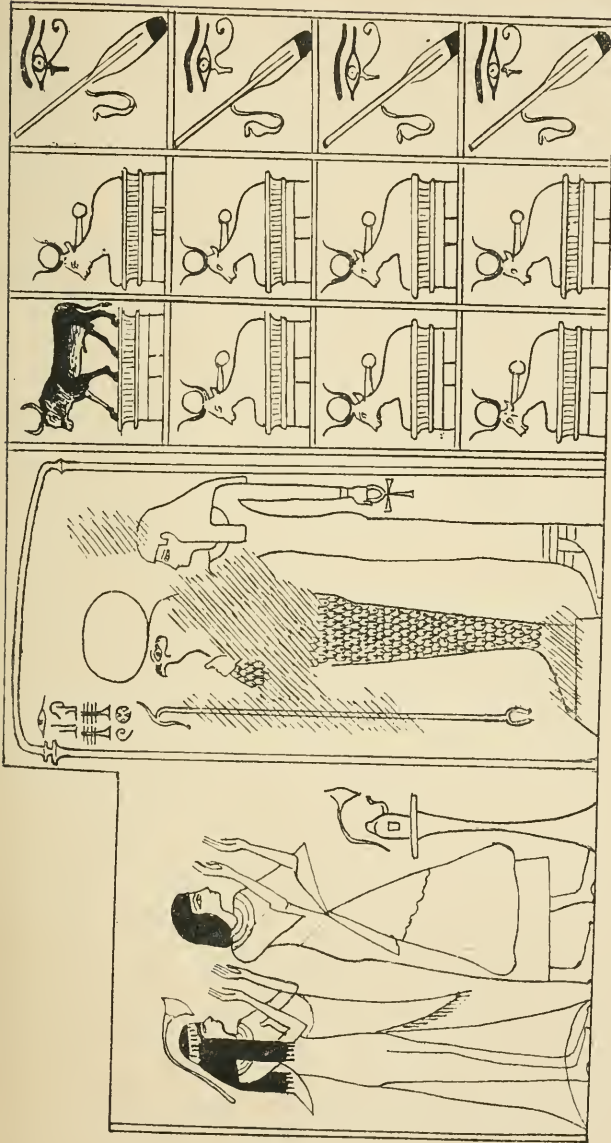
The following Paper was read:—

STANLEY A. COOK, *M.A.*: "A Hebrew Papyrus with a pre-Massoretic Version of the Decalogue."

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Burkitt, Dr. Gaster, Sir H. Howorth, Mr. Belelli, Mr. Rouse, Mr. Pilcher, the Rev. H. Laurence, and the Chairman took part.

PLATE I.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER CXLVIII. Papyrus, Berlin Museum, No. 2.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE, LL.D.

(Continued from page 271.)

CHAPTER CXLVIII.

*Giving sustenance (1) to the deceased in the Netherworld, and
delivering him from all evil things. (2)*

Hail to thee who shinest as living soul, and who appearest on the horizon, *N.* who is in the boat knows thee; he knows thy name, he knows the names of the seven cows and of their bull; they give bread and drink to the glorified soul. You who give sustenance to the inhabitants of the West, give bread and drink to the soul of *N.*, grant that he may be your follower, and be between your thighs. (3).

(Then follow the names of the seven cows.)

The house of the ka, of the inviolate god,
The storm of the sky, which raises the gods,

The hidden one in her dwelling,
Chebt the mummified form of the god,

The greatly beloved, with red hair,
The abundant in life, the veiled one,

She who is powerful in her works, or on her pedestal,
The bull of the Netherworld.

(Then the deceased calls on the four rudders of the sky, the four cardinal points.)

Hail! divine form, the good one, the good rudder of the Northern sky.

Hail! thou who goest round and pilotest the double earth, the good rudder of the Western sky.

Hail! the shining one, who dwellest in the house of the devouring monsters, the good rudder of the Eastern sky.

Hail! the inner one who dwelleth in the house of the red ones, the good rudder of the Southern sky.

Give bread and drink, oxen, geese, all things good and pure to *N*. Give him sustenance, give him joy, may he rest on the earth, and may he be victorious on the horizon of Annu, in the Tuat, in the sky, and on the earth, eternally.

Ye fathers and mothers, gods of the sky, and of the Netherworld, deliver *N*. from all things pernicious and evil, from all harm and evil, from the cruel huntsman and his swords, and from all evil things; and order what is to be done to him by the men, the glorious ones, and the dead, in this day, in this night, in this month, and in this year.

Said (4) by a man, when *Rā* is put before these gods, painted in green, and standing on a wooden board, and when they give him the offerings, and the sustenance which is before them, bread and drink, geese, and frankincense, and when they present mortuary gifts to the deceased before *Rā*.

(The book called) giving sustenance to a deceased in the Netherworld, delivers a man from all evil things. Thou shalt not read to any other man than thyself the book of Unnefer. He to whom this has been read, *Rā* is his steersman and his protecting power, he will not be attacked by his enemies in the Netherworld, in the sky, on the earth, and in every place he goes, for (the book) giving sustenance to the deceased has its effect regularly.

NOTES.

This chapter in the Turin text begins with a long title which is found by itself in the papyrus of *Nz*. Dr. Budge considers it as a special chapter, to which he has given No. 190. But the proof that it is not a chapter, is that the whole of it is written in red, which means that it is a title; besides this title is that of one of the hymns which constitute chapter 15, the hymn to the setting sun (15 B, 3). The chapter itself begins with the last word in line 7 of the Turin text. We have a nearly complete version of it in the tomb of Senmut, the architect of queen Hatshepsu. The text from which I translate is compiled from several Theban papyri.

1. Renouf translates the word in various ways: "sustenance, nutriment, dainties, delicacies."

2. Note the connection between these two ideas which occurs throughout the chapter: the giving nourishment to the deceased delivers him from all evil.

3. To be suckled by the divine cows, like Hatshepsu at Der el Bahari, by Hathor.

4. Several papyri have here the rubric of 30B, with the name of Mycerinus. The rubric which is here translated is taken from the papyrus of Nu. Lepsius calls 148C the vignettes belonging to this chapter. In a columned hall stands Osiris, and behind him the cows, the rudders, and the four gods of the cardinal points. Osiris is sometimes left out. In the papyrus of Ani the god has his hair painted green, and he stands on a green basement.

CHAPTER CXLIX.

The first domain. O this domain of the Amenta, where they live upon bread of the plant *tep seru*. Take off your head dress in my presence, for I am the great one among you, he who joins his bones and establishes firmly his limbs. Ahi, the lord of hearts, came to me, he joined my bones, and as he fixed the diadem of Tmu, he fastened on me the head of Nehebkau, and established my balance. I am lord among the gods, I am Amsi the builder.

The second domain. (1) I am the great proprietor in the garden of Aarru. O this garden of Aarru, the walls of which are of steel; the height of its wheat is seven cubits, the ears are two cubits, and the stalks five cubits. The glorified ones, each of whom is seven cubits in height, reap them in presence of Harmachis.

I know the inner gate of the garden of Aarru, out of which cometh Rā, in the East of the sky; the South of it is by the lake of Cha-ru, and the North of it by the stream of Reu; thence Rā saileth with favouring gales.

I am the Teller in the divine ship; I am the unresting navigator in the Bark of Rā.

I know those two sycamores of emerald, between which Rā cometh forth, as he advanceth over what Tmu hath lifted up (the firmament) to the Eastern gates of the sky, through which he proceedeth.

I know this garden of Aarru of Rā, the height of its wheat is seven cubits, the ears are two cubits, the stalks five cubits; the barley is seven cubits. It is the glorified ones, each of whom is nine cubits in height, who reap them in presence of the powers of the East.

The third domain. (2) O this domain of the glorious ones through which nobody can sail, which contains glorious ones, and the flame of which is a consuming fire. O this domain of the glorious ones, your faces are looking down; make straight your ways, and purify your abodes as it was ordered to you by Osiris the eternal one.

I am the lord of the red crown which is on the head of the shining one, (3) he who gives life to mankind from the heat of his mouth, and who delivers Rā from Apepi.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE NINTH DYNASTY.

By Prof. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *D.C.L., F.R.S.*

Some fresh results from studying the reign of Ramessu II are noted here in brief for students, pending a fuller account to be given on another occasion.

The battle of Qedesh has not been fully interpreted in any publication. The geographical directions are enough to define the whole affair, when compiled from the official report and from the poem. The Kheta went out of Qedesh to the north-west ; and evidently the town must have been in the lake, probably at the present island. They heard that the Egyptians were advancing in straggling column, so they gave way to Ramessu, and wheeled round the north-east end of the lake, and along the south-east side, until they cut across the army of Ra on the west of the Orontes. A messenger fetched the king back from the army head, where he had gone on and sat down north of Qedesh to besiege it ; turning back, he came up with the Kheta scattered in pursuit of the army of Ra, and easily wrecked chariot after chariot with his compact body-guard. The rest of the army rallying, he threw the Kheta chariots back to the east of the Orontes, on to their infantry, and then chased the whole to the junction of roads at Homs, where the allies scattered, and no main body was left to be attacked.

The four divisions of the army belonged to different regions. The army of Amen from the Thebaid always went with the king ; the army of Ptah was from Memphis and middle Egypt ; the army of Ra from Heliopolis and the Delta ; and the army of Sutekh, being from the north-east frontier, could not be trusted to fight Syrians, and were used on lines of communication.

The alliance of the Kheta has been supposed to extend to the west of Asia Minor, Mysia, Dardania, and Ilion. But as this was a body of chariots, it is unlikely to have been drawn from such a distance.

The names are all found much nearer together in North Syria. (The Egyptian names are printed in capitals, the classical in roman, the modern in italic, type.)

ARETU	Arvad.
MAUSU	<i>Gebel Musa</i> , north of Orontes.
KESHKESH	Kash (cuneif.), Mount Kasios, south of Orontes.
DARDENY	<i>Durdun</i> , mountains by Issus (Haigh).
PIDASA	Pidias, river, Cyprus.
ARWENA	Oroanda, <i>Arwan</i> , north-west Cilicia.
LUKA	Lykia.
QARKISH	Kirkesion, on Euphrates.
QARQAMASHA	Karkemish, on Euphrates.
QATAUA-DANA	Kataonia.
KHIL BA	<i>Haleb</i> , Aleppo.
AKARET	Ugarit (cuneif.), <i>Gebel Okrad</i> .
QEDESH	<i>Bahr Kedes</i> .
QEDI	Phoenicia.
ANAugASA	Near Tyre.
MUSHENA	Masna, 40 miles east of Kadesh.

These are paired in our list as Aretu and Mausus, Arwena and Luka, Dardeny and Keshkesh, Karkemish and Qarkish; such pairs are close neighbours in the above identifications, but widely separated according to previous writers. We may add the name of a slain chief of

TANUSA	Tonosa, Tanuz, in north of Kataonia.
--------	--------------------------------------

Beside the list of allies, there is a valuable list of the cities where Sutekh and other gods were worshipped, recited at the end of the well-known treaty. These are

ARENNA	Arana, 39° 5' N., 37° 35' E.
TAPU-ARONTA	Daphne Orontem?
PIRQA	<i>Pergli</i> (Lynch), 38½° N., 39° E.
KHISSAPA	<i>Kasaba</i> (Lynch), 39½° N., 40¼° E.
SARISU	Serastere, <i>Shiros</i> , 38° 20' N., 39° 10' E.
KHILP	<i>Haleb</i> , Aleppo.
REKHASNA	Eragiza, on Euphrates, East of Aleppo.
(3 names lost)	

EMKHI-PAINA	Amki (plain) of Panias ; or a similar name in the plain of Antioch, noticed by Mr. Boscawen.
ZAITA-TEKERRA . . .	<i>Tchai</i> , stream word in Armenia. <i>Takoran</i> , $38\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ N., $40\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ E.
KARZAITA	Karsatés, <i>Gersut</i> , $39\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ N., $40\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ E.
TERPANT-ARYSA (6 names lost)	Eriza, <i>Erzingian</i> , $39\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$ N., $39\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ E.
QITAUA-DANA	Kataonia.

The names with Zai-, of which there are four, seem to have the same root as the modern *Tchai*, usual for a tributary stream. These names altogether are mostly in the Armenian region, on the Upper Euphrates ; and Karzaita even—over on the Black Sea slope,—is an important junction of roads. The whole group centres 100 or 150 miles north of the centre of the alliance, and shows the ancestral site of the Kheta, the cities and god of which were venerated after the people had moved down into Syria at the end of the XVIIIth dynasty.

A matter which has occasioned some difficulty is the dating of the Star diagrams on the roofs of the Ramesseum and tombs. The epochs of these, as worked out by Mahler, could not be reconciled with the Sothis dates. But the discrepancy was due to assuming that the epoch was that of construction, whereas these diagrams or horoscopes are rather those of the nativities of the kings, and when so accepted they agree perfectly with the other fixed points that are known.

The above are merely notes of results ; the publication of the whole details I hope to give elsewhere before long.

THE HIERATIC TEXT IN MARIETTE'S *KARNAK*, PL. 46A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE VEZIER'S OF
THE NEW EMPIRE.

BY WILHELM SPIEGELBERG.

In preparing a corrected and enlarged edition of what I gave some years ago* as a first attempt of a list of the Veziers of the New Empire, I have made a careful examination of the hieratic text published on Plate 46 of MARIETTE'S *Karnak*, with the help of a squeeze which I took in 1895 of this inscription. Though this has been for some passages of great use, I must state that MARIETTE'S publication has proved in general remarkably trustworthy. The whole text—as far as I know—has never been studied by any scholar except BRUGSCH, who has tried† to draw up the genealogy of the owner of this inscription, but—as it will be shown—not always correctly. Even the principal point of that genealogy, which makes it so valuable for the history of the vizierate, has escaped BRUGSCH'S notice. The following transcription of the whole text and some short commentary remarks will be at least justified.

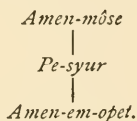


* *P.S.B.A.*, XV, p. 522 ff. Important new suggestions have been since made by WIEDEMANN, *Recueil*, XVII, p. 9 ff.; NEWBERRY, "Extracts from my Notebooks," *P.S.B.A.*, XXI, XXII; and quite lately by DURINGE, *Sphinx*, VI, p. 21 ff.

† *Thesaurus inscriptionum*, p. 1238.

presume that it is he who is referred to with the pronouns of the 2nd person in what remains of the beginning lines. So Amenophis may be invoked in the first lines to give his favour to the High Priest of Amon *Hr-byt*, who traces his genealogy through eighteen generations. With line 11 we come to well-known personages of the time of the XIXth dynasty.

The vezier *P₃-sr* (*Pe-syur*) lived under Seti I and Rameses II. He was, according to our list, the father of the vezier *'mn-m-'pt* (*Amen-em-opet*), and the son of the vezier *'mn-msj* (*Amen-mose*). From this we can now establish the succession of three veziers, thus:



Further investigation will show the results of this statement for the succession of the veziers.

In line 13, as I have before mentioned, the learned Amenophis is addressed: "By thy great venerable name, who knoweth the splendours in the old writings . . . at the time of the ancestors." As our inscription by its palaeography certainly belongs to the intermediate period between dynasties XXII–XXVI, the above mention of Amenophis proves that already at this period the great official under Amenophis III was venerated like a Muhammedan sheikh. It may even be possible, though our inscription does not exactly prove it, that he had already at this period his cult, a long time before the Ptolemaic period.*

The inscription ends with a speech of the Theban Amon, threatening with ruin the destroyer of this text and blessing its preserver.†

* The Ptolemaic origin of the cult of Amenhotep has been lately put forward by SETHE in *Aegyptiaca-Ebers*, p. 107 ff.

† Observe *sfu* "to scratch out." It is the  of LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, 138 c, where it is a technical term for stone breaking.

INSCRIPTIONS RELATING TO THE JEWISH WAR
OF VESPASIAN AND TITUS.BY JOSEPH OFFORD, *Member Japan Society.*

A few years since I had the honor of presenting to the Society a Paper upon¹ "Inscriptions relating to Hadrian's Jewish War," which was practically an amplification of the collection given by M. Arsène Darmesteter, and a more complete history of, and commentary upon, the subject than he had been able to present; because of the additional matter accumulated since, or that had escaped his notice when he wrote his monograph.² At that time I had also intended enumerating and studying the similar sources of information for the Jewish War of Vespasian and Titus, but I was unable until recently to devote the necessary time to complete the researches requisite, nor had the amount of new material reached sufficient dimensions to render a renewed essay upon the subject necessary.

The time has now, however, arrived when no adequate history of the final destruction of the Jewish nation can be written without a thorough knowledge of the Greek and Latin inscriptions connected with the heroes and statesmen who took part in the struggle, and with the hope that the following imperfect study of the subject may lead to corrections and additions being generously added to my small collection of memoranda, and also that it may prove useful to the future historian, I offer it to the Society, with humble apologies for errors and omissions.³

¹ *Proceedings*, February and May, 1898.

² "Notes Épigraphiques touchant quelques points de l'Histoire des Juifs sous l'Empire Romain," *Revue des Études Juives*, I, 32.

³ See Cagnat, "L'Armée Romaine au Siège de Jérusalem," *Revue des Études Juives*, XXIV, 1891, p. xxxi, etc., for an account of the troops employed and their uniforms and equipment, etc.

The right to extend the boundary of the city of Rome was only permitted to those who had augmented the extent of the Roman Empire. This grant, called the "pomerium," was specially awarded to Vespasian and Titus, by an inscription known as the *Lex Regia*, in the year A.D. 71.⁴

"Utique ei (Vespasiano) fines pomerii proferre, promovere, cum ex re-publica censibit esse, liceat, ita uti licuit Ti. Claudio Caesari Aug. Germanico

This compares Claudius' conquest of Britain with Vespasian's vanquishing of Judea.

That the Emperors proceeded to act upon the authority thus granted to them is evidenced by two inscriptions of the year A.D. 75, which are preserved upon the boundary stones erected to mark the city's extension.

⁵ Imp(erator) Cae(sar) (Vespasi)anus Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) Max(imus) tri(bunicia) pot(estate) VI imp(erator) XIV pater patriae Censor consul VI designatus VII T(itus) Caesar Augusti f(ilius) Vespasianus Imp(erator) VI(II) pont(ifex) trib(unicia) pot(estate) IV Censor, consul IV desig(natus) V auctis p(opuli) R(omani) finibus (pomerium ampliaverunt terminaveruntque).

M. Darmsteter gave another example of this text as preserved on a similar stone, and recorded in the *Corpus Ins. Lat.*, VI, 1232. It gives the last two lines complete. The text reads—

(M)ax(imus) trib. pot. VI im. p. p. Censor, Cos. VI, desig. V(II) T. Caesar, Aug. f. Vespasianus, Imp. VI(II), pont. trib. pot. IV, Censor, Cos. IV, desig. V Auctis, p. R. finibus pomerium ampliaverunt terminaveruntq.

The statement here regarding Vespasian and Titus, that they, "after having enlarged the limits of the Roman people, had extended the pomerium," can only refer to the Jewish campaign.

The most important epigraphical evidence for the Jewish war is the well known text copied from the arch of Titus, which, with the usual expansions of the inscription, reads thus:⁶

Senatus populusque Romanus imperatori Tito Caesari, divi Vespasiani filio Vespasiano Augusto pontifici Maximo, tribunicia potestate X, imperatori XVII consuli VIII patri patriae, principi

⁴ *Cor. Ins. Lat.*, VI, 930.

⁵ *Bulletino Com.*, 1899, p. 272.

⁶ *Cor. Ins. Lat.*, VI, 944.

suo quod praeceptis patriis consiliisque et auspiciis gentem Judaeorum domuit et urbem Hierusolymam omnibus ante se ducibus regibus gentibus aut frustra petitam aut omnino intemptatam delevit.

Proceeding now to direct epigraphical material relating to the Jewish war, it is much to be regretted that at present no military diploma has been discovered enumerating many of the troops and auxiliaries engaged, as has fortunately been the case for the later campaign under Hadrian. On the other hand, it will be seen that there are quite a number of texts relating to officers and soldiers who served in the war, which deserve to be grouped together for the assistance of the historian.

One of the most perfect of these refers to A Larcus Lepidus, whom Josephus mentions as Legate of the X Legion.⁷ The text, which is much mutilated, was restored by M. Leon Renier, and further amplified, reads:—

Aulol Larcio Auli filio Lepido Seviro equiti Romano tribuno militum legionis primae Adjutricis decemviro stlitibus judicandis quaestori pro consule provinciae Cretae et Cyrenarum legato Imperatoris Vespasiani Caesaris Augusti legionis decimae Fretensis donato donis militaribus ab Imperatore Vespasiano Caesare Augusto et Tito Caesare Augusti filio bello Judaico corona murali vallari aurea hastis puris duabus vexillis duobus tribuno plebis legato provinciae Ponti et Bithyniae Caecinia Auli filia Larga uxor⁸ et Larcia Auli filia Priscilla filia fecerunt.⁹

⁷ *Bello Jud.*, VI, 4, 3.

⁸ The death of Lepidus may not have been unwelcome to the warrior, if Juvenal is correct when he tells us of the frailties of Caecina Larga, and how Larcia Priscilla followed the frivolous conduct of her mother.

⁹ *Cor. Ins. Lat.*, X, 6659. The three legions completely employed in the war were the V Macedonica, X Fretensis, XV Apollinaris, also the XXII Deiotariana partly, and 1,000 men of the XII Fulminata, Jos., *Bell. Jud.*, V, 1-6, and 1,000 men of III Cyrenaica, *Bell. Jud.*, VI, 4, 3.

The presence of the III Cyrenaica in Palestine in Hadrian's time was proved from inscriptions in my paper on "Hadrian's Jewish War." But two texts relating to it have since come to my notice, one from Gerash (Gerasa): "DIIS MANIBVS CAII IVLII ZENOPHILI MILITIS LEGIONIS III CYRENAICAE," *Revue Biblique*, 1895, p. 391: the other from Bosra: "Conservatorum leg. III Cyr. pro salute dominorum nostrorum Flavius Basilides Thessalonica primus pilus, votum solvit."

The first probably refers to a soldier of Vespasian's war; but with the second another text relating to the IV Sythica was found, and as that was employed by Hadrian, Basilides most likely fought against Bar Cochba.

A second text of another veteran runs as follows :

L Lepidio L f Au. Proculo mil. leg V Macedon(ica) centurioni leg eiusd, centurioni leg XV Apollinar. prim leg XII Gemin donis donato ab Im Vespasiano Aug bello Iudaico torquib armillis. phaleris corona vallari, salinatores civitatis Menapiorum ob mer eius Septimia f reponend. curavit.¹⁰

A third :

M Blossio Q f. Ani Pudenti centuroni leg V Macedonic donis militaribus donato ab Imp Vespasiano Aug torquib. armillis phaler corona aurea vix an XLIX sanctissime, et prope diem consummationis primi pili sui debitum naturae persolvit. M Blossius Olympicus patrono optumo fecit, item sibi et libertis et libertatus, suis posteris que eorum, &c.¹¹

These two inscriptions are placed together because both mention the V Macedonica Legion, and it is evidently as a centurion of it that Blossius Pudens took such an honorable part in the war.

There are two other texts relating to soldiers of this legion actually found upon Jewish soil at Amwas, the ancient Nicopolis. The first is probably to be dated A.D. 68-70, it reads as follows :¹²

C. Vibius Firmus miles legionis quintae Macedonicae centuriae Pollionis Beneficiarius, militavit annis duodeviginti, vixit annis quadriginta, hic situs est. Saccia Primigenia coniugi suo faciendum curavit.

The other is :

Lucius Sabinius Amasio, miles legionis V Macedonicae, centuria stimini annorum XXV militavit.¹³

There is one inscription of a Roman officer who appears to have served only in the first year's hostilities, when the war was confined to Galilee, because he only seems to have been under Vespasian and had not remained under Titus. It was found at Taurini in Liguria, and relates to a certain C. Valerius Clemens.

¹⁰ Orelli, 749.

¹¹ *Cor. Ins. Lat.*, 3580, VI.

¹² *Revue Biblique*, 1897, p. 131. For soldiers of the V Mac. at Amwas, see *Cor. Ins. Lat.*, 3, 6647, *Bull. des Antiq. de France*, 1896, 263.

¹³ *Revue Biblique*, 1898, April, 270.

(To be continued.)

A BILINGUAL CHARM.

BY W. E. CRUM.

M. Casanova's new revision of the well-known Cambridge Arabic fragment in Coptic transcription,¹ may give interest to the following unique bilingual charm which, with Mr. Jenkinson's kind permission, I lately copied from the Taylor-Schechter Collection in the Cambridge University Library,² where it is numbered *T.S.* 12,207. It is written upon a strip of paper in a very unskilled, often ambiguous hand, which I cannot venture to date. The Coptic is sufficiently faulty to indicate a late period. The text is no longer complete. The paper was formerly several times folded and the exterior surface thus exposed was covered with signs, since faded, consisting mostly, it seems, of crosses.

I have placed dots below doubtful letters.

(1) πεσεελλε ελραζεεεπ ελραζιεε ζακατ
(2) λισηπ πακιεε δαριπ πεπ ciт (3) ελχονλ λη
ιηστατιζ ιητιηχηλ (4) -λεεε ελχηηλεεε ζακατ
λισηποу (5) ζαν θιχαρ πεпт ceтe πεζακ (6) ζητι
λεσεεη ζαγληη ηηηηη.

Here intervene two or three irregular lines of ill-written signs, some resembling disconnected Coptic or Arabic letters, while a few are of that type, with small rings at all their extremities, which is familiar from various documents of this class.³

(7) φ† φη етаφееоур тφε аз (8) -ееоур пкази
еφееееоур φροφ πεееφλας (9) πδариπ пψηρι ciт
ελχωλ πпeφ (10) -εψτεеекиеекиее πпeφсфотоу
(11) πтeφxω эсахи еφζωоу пcωпекψφноут

¹ *Bulletin de l'Inst. franç. d'archéol.* I, 1.

² The similar Genizah collection in the British Museum also includes a Coptic amulet.

³ *E.g.*, Kenyon, *Cat. of Greek Pap.* I, 123, pl. 59, Hyvernât, *Album*, pl. XIV.

SOME UNCONVENTIONAL VIEWS ON THE TEXT OF THE BIBLE.

IV.

The Septuagint Text of the Book of Nehemiah.

BY SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E., F.R.S., etc.*

I am glad that the view for which Whiston fought long ago, which was partially revived by Pohlmann, and which I arrived at independently and claim to have pressed home by abundant proof; the view, namely, that Esdras A in the Greek Uncials is the Septuagint text of the book of which the Canonical Ezra is Theodotion's edition, is making rapid headway. Dr. Cheyne speaks of the former in his latest work on Jewish religious life, as "the true Septuagint text of Ezra." He does this as a matter of course, and without any hint that it has been or is, anything but the accepted view. Similarly the very last and most judicial German commentator on Ezra and Nehemiah, Bertholet, after referring to the views I published on this subject many years ago in the *Academy* and elsewhere, says: "Dieser Meinung schliesse ich mich in Wesentlichen an." (*Die Bücher Esra und Nehemia. Kurz. Handcomm. zum alten Testament*, 1902. Einleitung IV, p. xvii.) Professor Bertholet has since written to me, and says in his letter, "I think there can be no doubt any more that the apocryphal book Esdras A contains the LXX text." Lastly, several other distinguished Biblical authorities, including Dr. Ginsburg, have written to me to say the conclusion in question is inevitable.*

* I ought to state that in putting together my evidence in my first article, I overlooked quoting Dr. Nestle's masterly and conclusive proof that Esdras A is not a *réchauffée* of the Greek Canonical Ezra, but is an independent translation. This he has given in his *Marginalien*, 23-29. I was misled by its not being mentioned by Mr. Thackeray in traversing the same ground, otherwise the bibliography is very fairly given in Hasting's *Bible Dictionary* (Vol. I, p. 760, etc.). Dr. Nestle's work was published in 1893. It seems a pity that in the article "Septuagint" in the same dictionary no notice should be taken by Dr. Nestle of the discovery about the true Septuagint text of Ezra, and its consequences, which was not made yesterday, and that the article should *pro tanto* be obsolete.

I must now say a word or two ancillary to the views maintained in Paper II of this series, in support of the chronology of Esdras A and the order of events reported by it. I have little to add to what I said about the impossibility, with our present lights, of identifying Sanabassar and Zerubbabel. That they were different people is a view which is now held, I believe, by every critic of standing, including the latest, Bertholet, who suggests that Sanabassar may have been the uncle of Zerubbabel (*op. cit.*, XVIII, line 5 and p. 3). This however is quite arbitrary. What is more to the point is the fact he emphasizes, that both Sanabassar and Zerubbabel are well known Babylonian names. Zer-babili occurs in Strassmaier, *Insc. von Nabonid.*, number 113, l. 13, and *Insc. von Darius*, 138, 2. 297. 2. Sanabassar or Sheshbassar are names of Babylonian etymology, viz., Sin bal ushur, the Moon God protects his son, and Shamas bal ushur, the Sun God protects his son (Bertholet, p. 3). Bertholet argues as I did that the possession of two distinct Babylonian names by the same Jew is a most improbable thing.

In regard to the view of some who have arbitrarily converted the Artaxerxes of both the Canonical Ezra and Esdras A into Smerdis or Cambyses, I should like to add one or two arguments used by Dr. Davidson, and which I had overlooked. He says "the language in Ezra iv, 12, 'the Jews which came up *from thee* to us are come unto Jerusalem,' can only refer to the colony that came under Ezra in the time of Artaxerxes, . . . it would have been useless to write to Smerdis (or may I say to Cambyses) in that strain, understanding the expedition under Zerubbabel in the time of Cyrus. Besides, the adversaries write to the king to have search made 'in the book of the record of thy fathers,' whereas at the time of Smerdis they had been no more than fifteen years under the Persian dominion. Thus Artachsaschtha cannot mean Smerdis, with whom the name does not agree, but Artaxerxes . . . The Old Testament never speaks of Cambyses and Smerdis, why should they be introduced here, especially as their mention would create greater difficulty than the more probable names Xerxes and Artaxerxes." (Davidson, *Introduction II*, p. 128.)

I have been reminded by my friend Mr. Burkitt, whose learning is so inspiring and so generously dispensed, that one view I maintained in Part II of these papers seems inconsistent with Zechariah i, 12 and vii, 5. In the former the angel recalls to the Almighty

that he had had indignation against Jerusalem and the cities of Judah for threescore years and ten; while in the latter, Zechariah is inspired to remind the Jews of their having fasted in the fifth and seventh month during seventy years. It is urged that these seventy years were calculated up to the time of the building of the Temple, and that this precludes our putting it in the reign of Darius the IInd instead of Darius the Ist. As the marginator of the English Bible reminds us, however, the seventy years here spoken of are the seventy years of Captivity referred to in Jeremiah xxv, 11 and 12, and the seventy years of desolation of Daniel ix, 2. The revisers of the English Bible have in one of the passages in question from Zechariah, *i.e.*, vii, 5, as it seems to me unnecessarily, altered the pronoun from *those* to *these*, and thus confused the sense.

Davidson says of the passage in question from Jeremiah that "it stands as a round indefinite number, meaning a long time generally," and he adds, "Zechariah also speaks of seventy years during which the Lord showed his indignation against Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, using that as a round number; for in vii, 1-5, two years later, he still speaks of seventy years," vide *Introduction*, 149. The seventy years in question again refer to the generally adopted length of the captivity and not to the time the temple was in ruins. It was apparently so understood by Josephus, when in his *Antiquities*, XI, 1, 1, he speaks of the first year of Cyrus "as the seventieth from the day that our people were removed out of their own land into Babylon."

At all events, it seems quite clear to me that the passages from Zechariah referred to are quite irrelevant to the issue before us, and it is satisfactory to me that this is the only substantial objection as yet raised to the scheme I have propounded, which removes so many difficulties from the path of the serious Bible student.

To the names of those scholars given in my second memoir, pp. 15 and 16, who have identified Darius, the patron of Zerubbabel, with Darius the 2nd, as I have done, and not with Darius the 1st, must be added Elhorst, Th. T., 1895, p. 94; and Marquart, *Fund. israel und jüd. Gesch.*, 68.

In regard to whether the episode about Darius and the young men (which I have argued was originally written in Aramaic or Hebrew) is an integral part of the original work, I find myself supported in part by Mr. Torrey, a most competent Orientalist, in some passages which I had overlooked. He says emphatically,

"The story of the three pages, which is a secondary addition to the book, *was written in Aramaic.*" (*The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, page 4. note.) Again, he says, "our canonical book (*i.e.*, the book of Ezra) *is a mutilated version* in which the Aramaic story of the three pages, which was interpolated at an early date, has been cut out again, together with a part of the original narrative, leaving a very noticeable gap between ch. i and ii" (*id.*, 50). I agree most completely in the description of the story in question as an Aramaic story, and in believing the book of Ezra at this point to be mutilated as Mr. Torrey says, a conclusion I fought for years ago, but I know of no evidence for making the story an interpolation at an early date. It seems to me most plainly a part of the original narrative; Ezra, ch. i, was, in my view, originally immediately followed, as in Esdras A, by the narrative beginning with what is now Ezra iv, 7, and went on to the end of ch. iv in the same book. It was after what is now ch. iv in Ezra that the story in question of the three pages once stood, exactly in the place in the narrative where it occurs in Esdras A, and where it follows on quite logically.

After the story in question there followed, as in Esdras A, the narrative ch. v, 1-6 inclusive, of the latter book, which is really an appendix to the story in question, and which is necessary to complete the sense and to make the story continuous. This portion has also been left out in Ezra, and for the obvious reason that it refers to the cancelled narrative; thus, in verses 5 and 6 of Esdras A we read: "Zerubbabel . . . who spake wise sentences before Darius, the king of Persia, in the second year of his reign, in the month Nisan, which is the first month." In the short narrative in question in Esdras A, v, 1-6, in verse 5 there is a palpable mistake in all the copies, which is another proof that all the copies have been derived from the original hexaplaric text. We there read, "Joiakim, the son of Zerubbabel, the son of Salathiel," instead of "Joiakim, the son of Josedech (see Neh. xii, 10) *and* Zerubbabel, the son of Salathiel;" one of the names, Josedech, with the connecting conjunction, has dropped out.

The narrative in Esdras A, ch. iii, 1 to ch. v, 6 inclusive, completely connects and bridges over the story as told in Ezra i and Ezra ii, between which, at present, as Mr. Torrey says, there is a complete *hiatus* and gap in the sense, clearly proving a mutilation at this point and furnishing a very definite proof that the story of

the three pages, with the supplementary six verses, formed a part of the original narrative.

Another proof of the same fact has occurred to me since I wrote my former paper. The first verse of ch. iii of Ezra says, "and when the seventh month was come and the children of Israel were in the cities, etc." In Esdras A the corresponding narrative is contained in ch. v, verse 47. The mention of this seventh month without any statement as to the year is quite hapless and meaningless in the canonical Ezra. In Esdras A it is perfectly plain, for there it no doubt refers back to verse 6 of ch. v, above quoted, where the month Nisan, the first month of the second year of Darius, is expressly mentioned. This is part of the narrative which, as I have been arguing, was cancelled in the Canonical Ezra.

Every kind of evidence therefore converges upon the conclusion that the story of the three pages was part of the original narrative, and was cancelled by the editors of the Masoretic text, and that here, as in many other places, Josephus, who has the story, is a very wholesome guide to the original condition of the text. The mutilation is another proof that the editors of the Masoretic text of the book of Ezra did not scruple to mangle and disarrange it in every way, and to incorporate extraneous passages into it, with as little scruple as they tore Chronicles and Ezra asunder and placed them in different parts of the Bible. It is also a proof that the Septuagint text of the book was arranged quite differently, and in every way more logically and in accordance with the real course of events.

I believe the same editors who did this with the narrative of Ezra, also laid a similarly rough hand upon the book of Nehemiah, and so dislocated its narrative as to make it a byword among the critics for its corruptions, and that the Septuagint version of that book, if we could recover it, would give us a very different work to the one which has been the despair of so many commentators. Before examining that issue in detail, however, we must first turn to Josephus, who is an important witness in the matter. Josephus, like other men, was liable to error, nor did he hesitate, as some great critics and historians of our own day have done, to try and make his story consistent with the facts as they appeared to him, *vide* his alteration of the Royal Persian names referred to in a previous paper; but he was, so far as we can see, both a learned and an honest historian, and he had the additional reason for being

truthful in his polemics, in that he was much disliked by his countrymen for his subservience to the Romans.

There is one remarkable divergence between the story as told by Josephus and that in the Canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah to which sufficient attention has not been directed, namely, in that he completely separates the careers of Ezra and Nehemiah, and in fact he makes Ezra die before the career of Nehemiah commenced, while in the Bible the careers of the two men are made to overlap. This is a very remarkable fact. The change, if made by Josephus, seems absolutely motiveless, and in fact dangerous to his reputation, for it was made in regard to two of the most famous of the later Jewish heroes, the story of whose career must have been very difficult for him to sophisticate. The fact raises a strong presumption that in the Septuagint, which was his main authority, the careers of the two men were separated, and one was made to precede the other. Professor Sayce says that in this and in other matters "Josephus has been misled by some apocryphal production." This disparaging remark hardly appreciates the learning and erudition of Josephus, and it is in fact corrected by another phrase in which Mr. Sayce says of Josephus that he was usually "so careful to follow the statements of his sacred books." What motive he could have had for forsaking them in this instance in favour of some unknown apocryphal book is quite unknown to me, and I cannot help emphatically urging that, as on some other occasions when Josephus has been supposed to have been mistaken, he was literally right, and what has happened has been the sophistication of some of our texts since he wrote. If this be so, it becomes our plain duty to try and recover them and to restore them as he saw and read them, and we must not be deluded by the aggressive army of Hebraists who, having devoted their lives to the study of the Masoretic text, are loath to confess that the Bible they have so much cherished, and from which they have deduced so many strange theories, is no Hebrew verity at all, but a text edited to meet certain theories historical and otherwise.

If Josephus was right in the view that Nehemiah's career followed that of Ezra, there must have been a very considerable alteration made in the Masoretic text. This was probably with the view of bringing the two great men on to the platform together.

Was Josephus right or not in this matter? Almost every critic known to me, if not all of them, take it for granted that Josephus

was wrong. I believe he was right. Let us examine the position in some detail. In the first place it is a remarkable fact that Nehemiah's name nowhere occurs in the Canonical book of Ezra, except in the second chapter, which I shall show presently is no part of the actual narrative, but an episodical passage introduced from another source by the compiler of the whole work.

Secondly, while Nehemiah is not referred to in the book of Ezra, Ezra is not mentioned at all in the first six chapters of Nehemiah, which constitute the main part of the latter's genuine memoirs. How comes it that if he had been at Jerusalem with Nehemiah during this time, his name does not occur in this narrative? The fact has been noticed *inter alios* by Canon Rawlinson, who says it is impossible Ezra should have been in Jerusalem during the events narrated in Nehemiah i-vi, and have played no part in them, and he suggests as an explanation that he was at the court of Artaxerxes during all these twelve years. Surely this is purely arbitrary and based on no evidence. If Josephus was right, the reason is plain enough: he was not there, because he was dead, and I am bound to say I think this is a perfectly adequate reason.

Let us now turn to evidence of another kind. Nehemiah in his memoirs, *i.e.*, in those parts of his book written in the first person, styles himself Pechah (*i.e.*, Pasha or the Governor), and he there bears no other title, *vide op. cit.*, ii, 7-9; iii, 7, 14, 18.

If we turn elsewhere we shall find his name otherwise qualified. Thus in the Masoretic text of Nehemiah, chapter viii, verse 9, he is styled "Nehemiah which was the Tirshatha." In chapter x, i of the same work he is referred to as "Nehemiah the Tirshatha, the son of Hacaliah." "The Tirshatha" alone is named without any mention of Nehemiah in Ezra ii, 63, and in Nehemiah vii, 65 and 70. It is clear that in all these cases Nehemiah is meant.

This word Tirshatha has been a difficulty to the commentators. It occurs in no known language, nor has anything like it occurred in the cuneiform texts. It is obviously not a Semitic word. Rawlinson tried to find a Persian meaning for it by a very forced etymology in deriving it from *tar sâ tâ*, the feared one, a passive participle from *tars* to fear. Lagarde, Symm., i. 60, on the other hand, derived it from the Baktrian *Antarekshatra*, he who attends the person of the king (*see* Bertholet, *op. cit.*, 7). Spiegel went further afield, and actually suggested that it might be an Armenian compound *tû-sât*, Lord of the Province (Sayce, *Ezra, Nehemiah*;

Esther 23). How a Jewish governor of Jerusalem acquired an Armenian title is indeed a puzzle.

Lord Arthur Harvey says of the word, "it is of uncertain etymology and meaning. It is a term applied only to Nehemiah, and seems more likely to mean cupbearer than governor, though the latter is adopted by Gesenius." Elsewhere he remarks, "if we knew the real history of the title Tirshatha," etc. (Harvey, *sub voc* Nehemiah, *Dict. of the Bible*). The fact is, there is no escape from the conclusion that the word is entirely corrupt and meaningless, and that there is no warrant for translating it governor or anything else. How little warrant there is, and how uncertain its meaning is, may be gathered from the Syriac version, where the word is always given in translation by "Prince of the Priests," while in the Arabic it is translated by "the Judge."

It is a further curious fact showing that the word had been a stumbling block from very early times, that in the Greek uncial text of Nehemiah viii, 9 and x, 1, we merely read "Neemias," and "Neemias the son of Hakhelai," without the qualifying words "which was the Tirshatha."

All this converges upon one conclusion, namely, that whatever the qualifying word was in the original writing of the book of Nehemiah, if there was one, it was not Tirshatha, which is quite an artificial and corrupt word, and ought not to have found a place in the Revised Version. Of this we have some very direct evidence.

Fortunately the fragment of what I claim to be the true Septuagint of Nehemiah which has been preserved to us intact in Greek at the end of Esdras A, includes Nehemiah viii, 9. There, instead of "Nehemiah which is the Tirshatha," which is the phrase in the Canonical Nehemiah, we have merely the name Atharate (Cod. B), or Atharates (Cod. A), without any mention of Nehemiah or the Tirshatha whatever. This raises a strong suspicion, if it be not a positive proof, that no such word as Tirshatha occurred in the passage just discussed in the original Septuagint.

This is not all. We can test the case by another example. In chapter 5 of Esdras A we have the narrative corresponding to chapter 2 of the Canonical Ezra and chapter 7 of the Canonical Nehemiah. In the two latter copies of the story the word Tirshatha occurs (*see* Ezra ii, 63, Nehemiah vii, 65 and 70). No such word occurs in Esdras A, verse 40, which is the corresponding passage. I shall revert to this later on. Here I would merely

remark that the fact of the word Tirshatha not occurring at all in Esdras A, while it occurs in parallel passages in Ezra, is very strong evidence that it did not occur in the Septuagint, and was unknown to the Seventy, and that it is another of the blemishes introduced into the Bible text by the redactors of the Masoretic text. This by the way.

(*To be continued.*)

INSTRUCTION IN EGYPTIAN.

DEAR SIR,

Referring to the following sentence in *Proceedings*, page 281—

“The lectures on Egyptology, at Oxford and London, which form the only continuous attempt yet made in this country to provide oral instruction in the study of the Ancient Egyptian language,”

may I say that this language has been taught in class at University College, Bristol, continuously since January, 1898.

Yours truly,

ERNEST SIBREE.

Dec. 9th, 1902.

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN DRAUGHTS-BOARDS AND DRAUGHTS-MEN.

BY W. L. NASH, *F.S.A.*

The ancient Egyptian game, which we call the game of draughts, has been the subject of many myths and legends. Plato¹ quotes an ancient tradition that the game was invented by Thoth. Herodotus (II, 122) repeats the legend related to him by the Egyptian priests, that Rhampsinitus (Rameses III) descended into the lower world, there played at draughts with Isis, and returned, a victor, to Earth. Plutarch (*de Isis*, 12), probably referring to the same legend, says that Hermes (Thoth) played at draughts with the moon, and won five lunar days, which he added to the solar year.

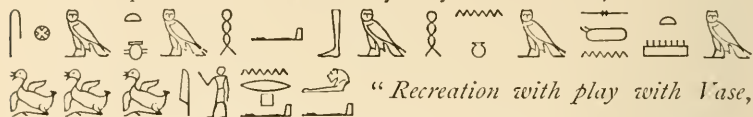
But apart from all myth and legend, the great antiquity of the game is shown by the draughts-boards and draughts-men found in tombs of the earliest dynasties, and the pictures on the walls of early tombs.

The Draughts-board (Plates I, II) was marked out into squares, the number of which, and their arrangement, depended upon the particular game which was to be played. There seem to have been two games played on the draughts-board, one on a board with 30 squares, the hieroglyphic name for which, and also for the board on which it was played, was  *sen.t* or   *sen-a-t*; the papyrus of Hunefer, B.M. 9901, gives the variant  . The papyrus of Nebseni, B.M. 9900, gives a figure of a draughts-board and men  as a determinative of the word *sen.t*, thus clearly fixing the meaning of the word. It is to this game "*sen.t*," that the name of draughts is commonly applied. There was another game called    *tau*, the game of "Robbers," which Dr. Birch² suggests was played on a board having twelve squares

¹ Plato, *Phædr.*, 274D.

² Dr. Birch, "Rhampsinitus and the game of draughts," *Trans. R.S.L.*, IX, Part II.

at the end, and eight others down the middle line of the board. The games of Vase, of Draughts, and of Robbers are mentioned in an inscription in the XXVIth dynasty tomb of Aba, at Thebes—



“Recreation with play with Vase, with the Draughts-board, with Robbers (taken) by the hereditary Prince and Mayor.” (See Champollion, *‘Notices descriptives,’* p. 556.)

There are several specimens of these draughts-boards existing. The earliest known is one made of alabaster (Plate I, fig. 2), fragments of which were found by Prof. Petrie in the Royal tombs of the Mena period, at Abydos.

Prof. Petrie also found a XIIth dynasty board at Kahun (Plate I, fig. 5), which is now in the Museum at Owens College, Manchester. I am indebted to Mr. Hoyle, Director of the Museum, for the opportunity of examining it. This board is drawn in red paint on the inside of the lid of a box. It is marked out into 30 squares, of which in the upper row counting from the *Right*, No. 18 has a  inscribed on it, No. 21 a $\times$, No. 24 has $|||$, and No. 27 has $||$. Moreover, No. 18 has a curved line uniting its boundary lines, and Nos. 24 and 27 are united by a curved line, the dividing line between the two squares is prolonged to meet the curved line. The direction in which the  points shows that the marked squares are in the upper row. On No. 10, in the lower row, are traces of hieratic writing.

A board from the Abbott Collection, found at Thebes and now in the Museum in New York, described and drawn by Prisse³ (Plate II, fig. 1), is cut out of a solid block of wood, about 10 inches in length by 3 inches in width. One side is marked out into 30 squares—three rows of ten squares—while on the other side are 20 squares, 12 at one end and 8 others in a line down the middle of the board. It has a drawer in which the draughts-men were kept, three of which are shown. It would seem that this board was intended for use in two different games, the side with 30 squares being for the ordinary game of draughts, and the side with 20 squares for the game of “Robbers.”

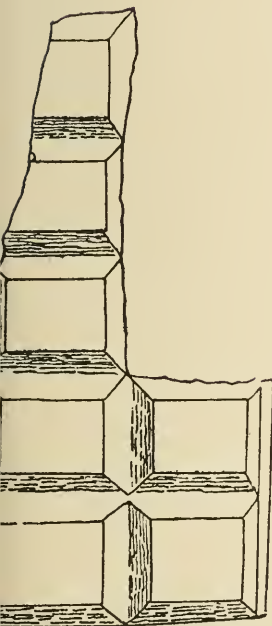
³ *Revue Archéologique*, March, 1846.

PLATE I.



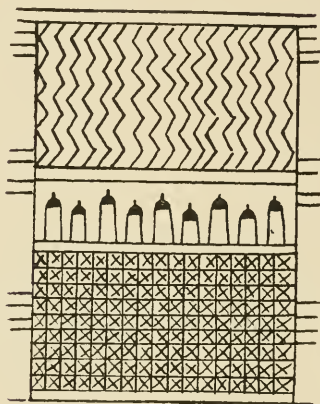
I

CLAY JAR-SEALINGS OF NARMER.



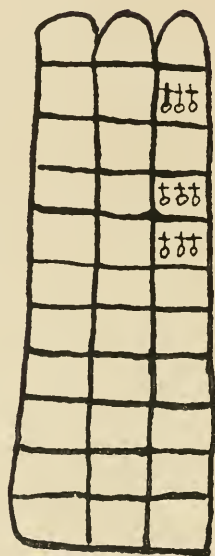
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DRAUGHTS-BOARD FROM ABYDOS.



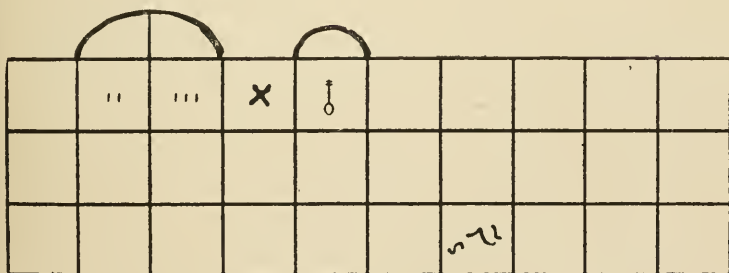
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LEPSIUS, 'Älteste Texte,' Pl. 9.



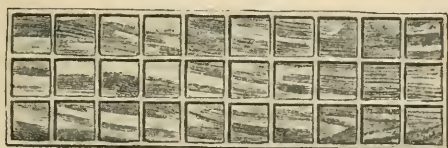
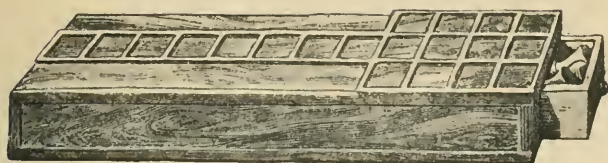
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OSTRACON.
Cairo Museum.



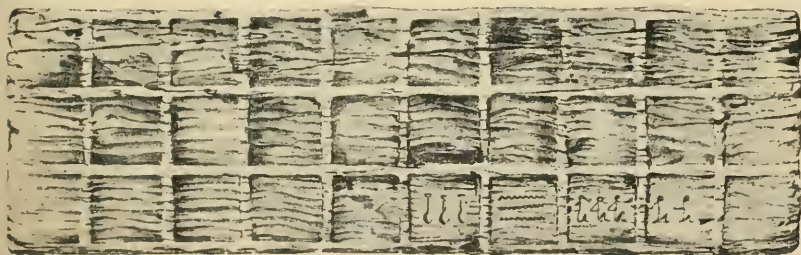
5

DRAUGHTS-BOARD FROM KAHUN.



I

DRAUGHTS-BOARD FROM THE ABBOTT COLLECTION.
(From a drawing by Prisse.)



2

DRAUGHTS-BOARD IN THE LEYDEN MUSEUM.



At Defeneh, XXVIth dynasty, Prof. Petrie found a plate, and a stone slab, with a draughts-board inscribed on them.

In the Leyden Museum there is a wooden board (Plate II, fig. 2) very-similar to the Abbott board, one side of which has 20 squares, and the other 30 squares. Of the latter the squares Nos. 18, 21, 24, 27 in the lower row, counting from the *Left*, have cut on them respectively, ; ; ; . Here we have marks on certain squares corresponding to those on the Kahun board. On the edge is the following inscription, which gives the name of the person who owned the draughts-board :



"May the King give an offering to Amen, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, that he may give intelligence, favours, love and a long duration in beautiful life, for the benefit of the ka of the valiant officer of his Lord, Baka."

In the British Museum is a wooden board from a XIIth dynasty tomb at El Bersheh, marked out with 20 squares only. Another board, of the XVIIIth dynasty, in the Museum, is made of ivory, the squares being of blue-glazed porcelain. In this instance the squares are flush with the general surface, instead of being, as is usually the case, sunk below the surface, and separated by narrow ridges of the material of which the board is made. There are several specimens in the Louvre, one, which has Queen Hatshepsut's cartouche on it, is made of faience and has in square 18 , in 21 , in 24 , in 27 . In this instance the  replace on square 24 the three seated men of the Leyden board, just as the three men on square 24 of the Leyden board replace the ||| of the Kahun board. In the Cairo Museum is a limestone Ostrakon (No. 25,183) on which are roughly drawn 30 squares in three vertical rows of 10 squares (Pl. I, fig. 4). Each of the uppermost three squares is surmounted by a curved line. In the 1st, 3rd and 4th squares of the right-hand vertical row are  (Pl. I, fig. 4). If this is a draughts-board, the squares marked are not the same as those on the Kahun and other boards. The curved lines at the upper end of the board may be

merely ornament, and not have any connection with the curved lines on the Kahun board. M. Daressy,⁴ from whose drawing the illustration here given is copied, suggests that it may be a Calendar that is represented, the lucky days being marked with the  signs. The meaning of these marks on certain squares has never been explained. Prof. Wiedemann has shown that they are the *names* of the squares, and he gives (*Das Brettspiel bei den alt. Egypt.*, p. 42) the names written on the squares of a board which is drawn on the "games" papyrus at Turin, in which 23 out of the 30 squares have names, some of which are the names of deities. But what the significance of these names was there is nothing to show. The text of the papyrus, of which Dr. Wiedemann gives a translation which he says must be regarded as only preliminary, is so mixed up with mythological ideas that it reads like a description of the game of draughts played by the deceased in the lower world. Indeed one phrase, "They may grant that I enter into the pavilion," seems a reference to the XVIIth chapter of the Book of the Dead. May not the signs have had magical powers attributed to them? It may be reasonably supposed that the signs marked on the squares of the boards used for actual play indicated certain advantages, or the reverse, to the player whose draughts-man entered these squares, or perhaps that cert. in moves were then allowed or prohibited, but until the rules for playing the game are known it is impossible to say what the marks really indicate.

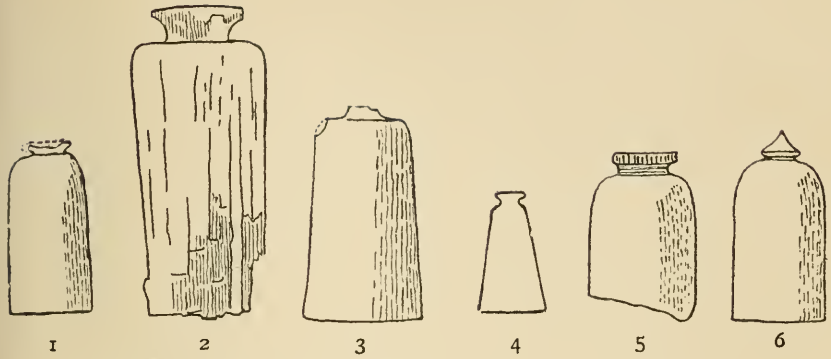
The game seems to have been extremely popular. A draughts-board of 30 squares is found cut on one of the roofing-stones of the Temple of Chonsu at Karnak, and others are to be seen on the pavement of the first and second courts of the Temple at Medinet Abou.⁵ These no doubt are the draughts-boards of the poor, who were content to use pieces of brick or stone as draughts-men. I have a number of the bony *scutæ* of a crocodile (Pl. IV, 6) which, together with a draughts-board roughly scratched on a piece of wood, were found in a XIIth dynasty tomb at Thebes and no doubt were used as draughts-men.

The hieroglyphic name for the Draughts-men (Plates III, IV), was   or more properly     *âba*, "dancer," probably

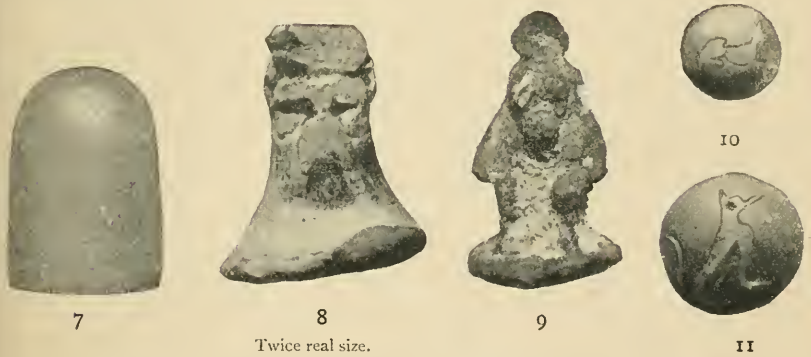
⁴ Ostraca, *Cat. Gen. du musée de Caire*, Pl. XXXI.

⁵ Prof. Wiedemann, *Recueil*, XX, 3, p. 142.

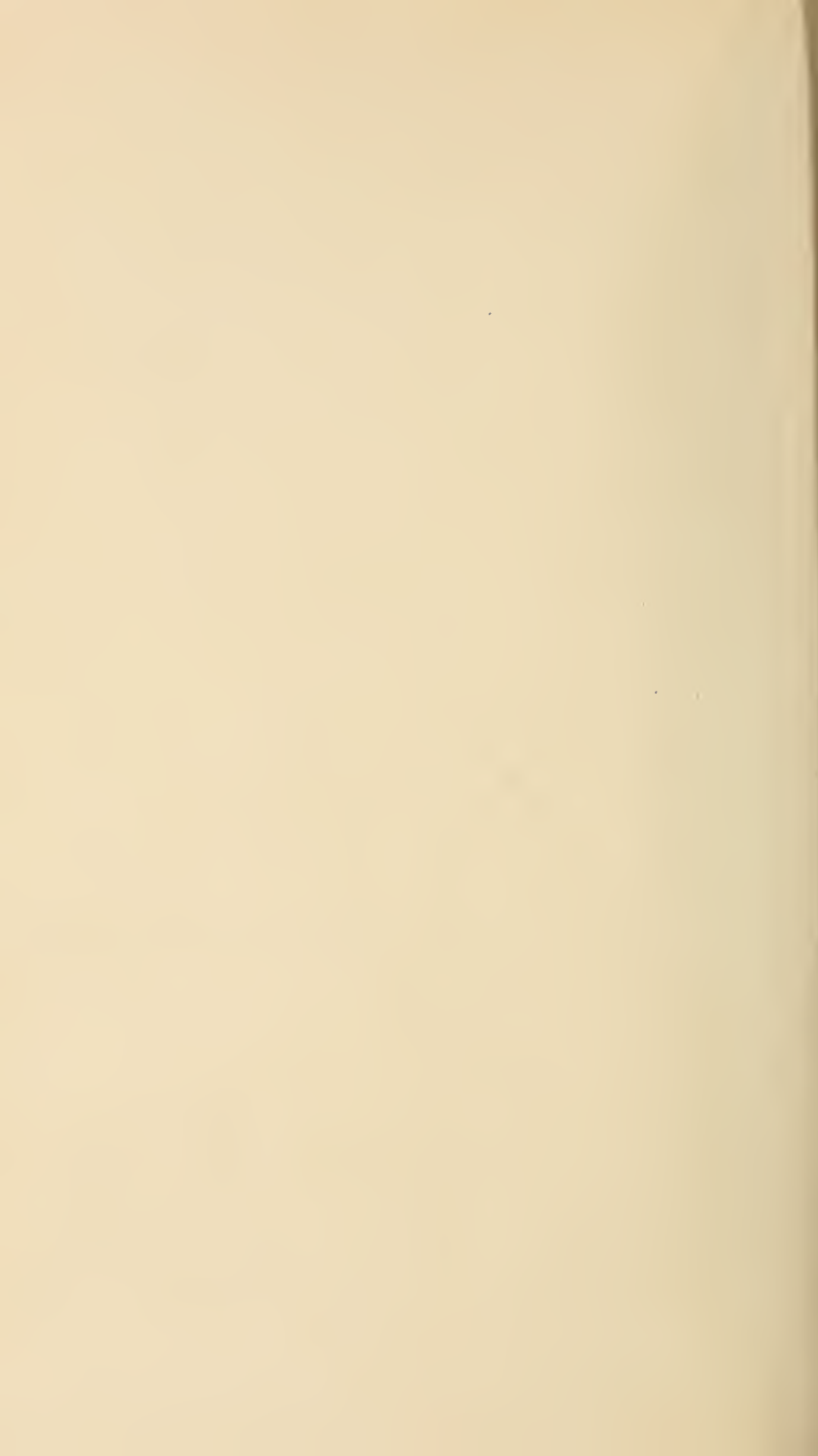
PLATE III.



DRAUGHTS-MEN FROM THE ROYAL TOMBS AT ABYDOS.



DRAUGHTS-MEN BELONGING TO PROF. PETRIE, *D.C.L., F.R.S.*



connected with  *aba* "to dance." Among the wall-paintings in the tomb of Ra-shepses at Sakkara⁶ is a row of men dancing, and the inscription , *abau nefer* "beautiful dances." In the tomb of Her-khuf⁷ at Assouan we find  *abau* "dances." The number ordinarily used appears to have been twelve six for each player, but this number is not invariable. They are made of various materials, wood, ivory, pottery, glass, &c. The shape varies considerably. The earliest draughts-men were thimble shaped, with or without a small circular knob. Clay jar-sealings of Narmer (Plate I, fig. 1), found by Prof. Petrie, have the  sign represented by a draughts-board on which stand three draughts-men  (R. T. II, Plate XIII). On the inner coffin of Mentuhotep, in the Berlin Museum, is a picture representing the door of the tomb, and on the architrave are drawn two sets of nine draughts-men (Plate I, fig. 3), each set consisting of five large and four small of this shape  (Lep., *Eltest. Text*, Plate 9). At Abydos⁸ Prof. Petrie found several draughts-men made of ivory, the earliest of these (Plate III, fig. 1) came from the tombs of the Mena period; three others (Plate III, figs. 2, 3, 4) came from the tomb of Zer; one (Plate III, fig. 5) was found in the tomb of Den. All these are of the Ist dynasty. Another (Plate III, fig. 6) is from the tomb of Khasekhemui, of the IInd dynasty. There is an ivory draughts-man of this shape, in the Harrow School Museum. A draughts-man of the IIIrd dynasty, made of alabaster, is shown in Plate III, fig. 7. The later pieces are more or less conical in shape, some have a small knob (Plate IV, figs. 7, 8, 9), others are flat-headed (Plate IV, fig. 12), and others again are mushroom-shaped (Plate IV, 10, 11). Two examples (from Prof. Petrie's collection) are given of draughts-men in the form of discs, with the upper surface convex, made of dark-coloured faience, and having in the one case a recumbent jackal, and in the other a seated jackal, in a lighter coloured paste on the convex surface (Plate III, figs. 10, 11). In addition to these simple conical or flat

⁶ Lepsius, *Denkmal.*, II, 61.

⁷ Erman, *A.Z.*, XXXI, p. 66.

⁸ *Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, II, Pls. XXXII, XXXV, XLI, XLV.

pieces, others, of various shapes, are found; some have the heads of deities, others human heads, others the heads of animals. Draughts-men representing captives with their arms bound behind their backs are shown on Plate IV. They are admirably modelled, no one can fail to recognize the Jew (fig. 4) or the Nubians (figs. 1, 2). In the British Museum is a nearly complete set of pottery draughts-men with the head of Bes. Another Bes-headed draughts-man (Plate III, fig. 8) is in Prof. Petrie's collection. Mr. Whyte (*Proc.*, XXIV, p. 261, Pl. II, fig. 17) has given an illustration of one with the head of the funerary god Qebhsenuf, and there is a similar one in the British Museum. The recumbent jackal and the jackal's head (Plate IV, figs. 3, 5) are other examples. Three on Plate III representing the Cynocephalus (figs. 9, 12, 16), one with a cat's head (fig. 15), and two with the head of a jackal (figs. 13, 14), are in Prof. Petrie's collection. But none of these draughts-men which represent deities or men or animals seem to be depicted on the monuments. They are of all periods, from the XVIIIth to the XXVIth dynasty. Those with the heads of deities or of their emblems, as Bes, Anubis, Qebhsenuf, etc., were purely funerary, and their being placed in the tomb perhaps had some relation with the mystical game of draughts to be played by the deceased in the lower world. Those in the form of a lion's head, one of which is figured by Mr. Whyte, and of which other examples belonging to the same set are in the British Museum, are no doubt of the XVIIIth dynasty, and are often said to have belonged to Queen Hatshepsut, but nothing is known about where they were found. They were concealed by the Arab who found them, at Dêr el-Bahri, and in the same storehouse he kept a number of other objects of various dates. A chair, now in the British Museum, was among them, and is of Roman date; there were also some Greek papyri. The whole of the contents of the Arab's storehouse was bought by the late Mr. Greville Chester. Mr. Hilton Price, has a lion-head draughts-man, engraved with the name of Hatshepsut. A drawing of this is given by Mr. Whyte.

In the story of Setni⁹ in a Ptolemaic papyrus, it is related that he is challenged to play a game of "Fifty-two," and that a "draughts-board with its *dogs*  is brought. This name "dog"

⁹ Prof. Maspero, "Le Conte de Satni-Khâmois," in *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*.



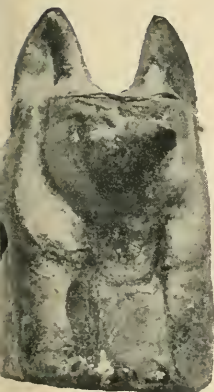
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2



3



5



6



7

2½ times real size.



8



9



10



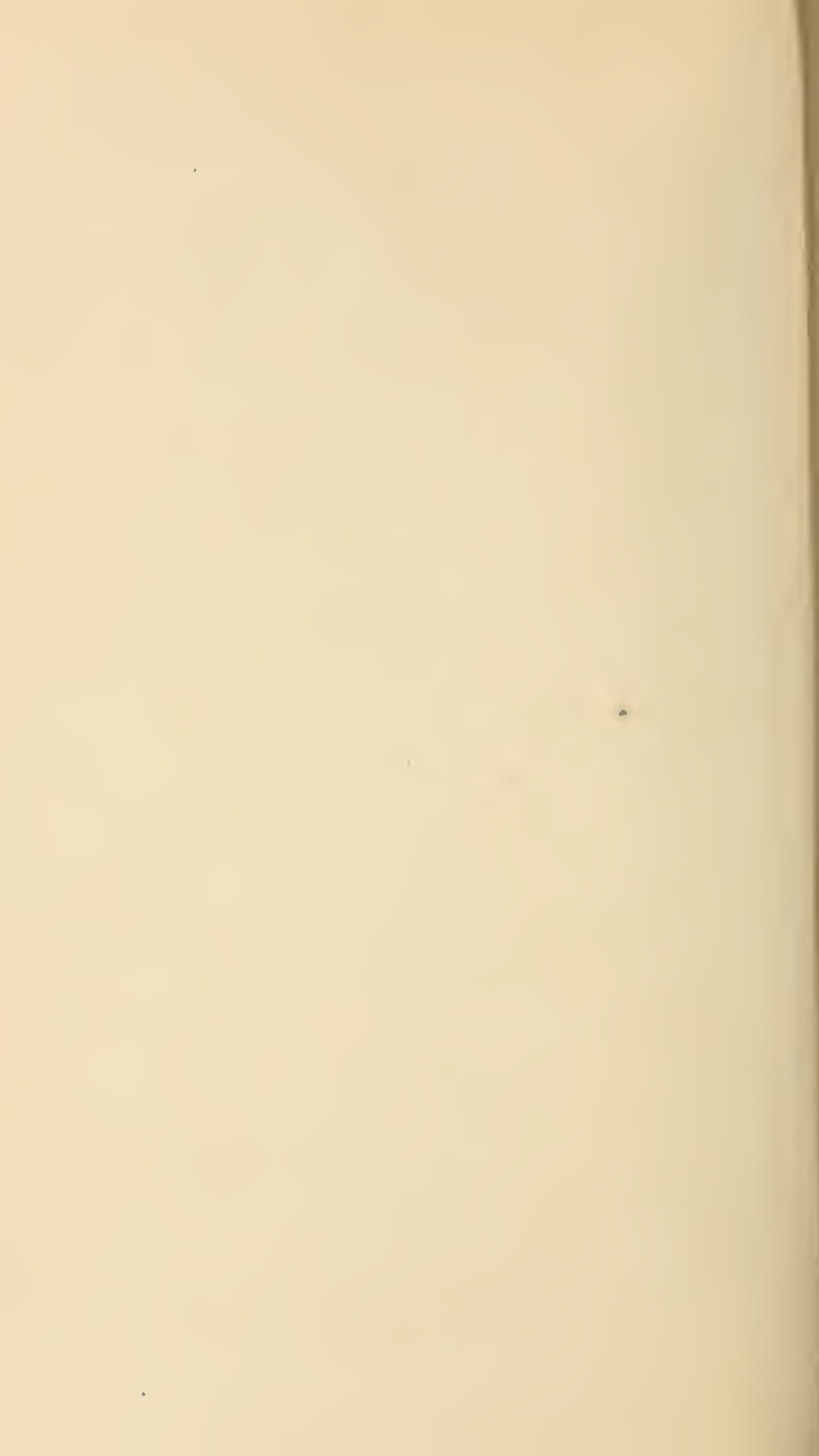
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12



13



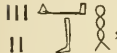
does not seem to be applied to draughts-men earlier than the time of the Greeks in Egypt. The draughts-men in the shape of a Jackal shown on Pl. IV may belong to that period. The Greeks themselves gave the same name *κῦρες* to their draughts-men. In Egypt in the present day, the lower class of Arabs are never tired of playing a game they call "*sega*,"¹⁰ in some respects resembling our game of draughts, and they call the draughts-men *kelb*, "dog" (plural *kilâb*).

The game of draughts is frequently represented on the monuments.

In the Vth dynasty tomb of Ra-shepses, at Saqqârah,¹¹ is a picture of two men squatted on the ground playing at draughts (Pl. V, fig. 1). The pawns are alternately  and . Each player has six pieces, one of which he holds in his hand. Over them is written,

, *maa sen.t*, "seeing the draughts-board."

In the XIth dynasty tomb of Baqt, No. 15, at Beni Hasan,¹² are two painted Reliefs in each of which two men are represented as seated playing draughts (Pl. V, fig. 3). The draughts-men are 10 in number, of this shape . Over one of the boards is written

, "to play with five," signifying, according to Dr. Birch,

the name of the game being played. Over the other board is , translated by Dr. Birch "consumed," meaning that the game was finished. These two pictures, which are close together, may be intended to show two stages of the same game.

In a papyrus in the British Museum are caricature drawings of animals acting as human beings. Among them is a representation of a lion playing draughts with a she-goat; each has four pieces only on the board, and holds a fifth in the fore-paws (Pl. V, fig. 4). There are two sets of draughts-men shown in the drawing, one set has pointed, and the other set has flat heads.

In the palace of Rameses III, at Medinet Abou, there is a wall-painting representing the king playing at draughts with one of his wives (Pl. V, fig. 7). There appear to be ten pieces on the board, and each player has a piece in hand.

¹⁰ For an excellent account of this game, see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, II, 53.

¹¹ Lepsius, *Denkm.*, Abth. II, Bl. 61A.

¹² *Beni Hasan*, by Percy E. Newberry (*E. E. Fund*), Part II, Pl. VII.

It is unfortunate that although the illustrations of the game are so numerous, the texts give no clue whatever to the rules for playing it.

The religious or mythological meaning attached to the game is exemplified by the reference to it in the Book of the Dead, Chapter XVII, the title of which varies, but in the Turin Papyrus reads, "*The Chapter of raising up the illuminated of going forth from day, of making all transformations which a man (lit. he) wishes to make, of playing with the draughts-board and of being in the pavilion as a living soul*;"¹³ and among the vignettes belonging to this chapter is a picture of the deceased, seated in a hall or chamber with a draughts-board before him. In the Papyrus of Hunefer, B.M. 9901, is a vignette (Pl. V, fig. 2) showing the deceased with a table before him on which are four draughts-men. In the papyrus of Ani we see the deceased with his wife, seated with a draughts-board in front of him (Pl. V, fig. 6). The Dublin Papyrus (Pl. V, fig. 5) and the Leyden Papyrus T2 (Pl. V, fig. 8) have each a vignette of the same scene. The Hall mentioned in the Title to the Chapter XVII is in each instance represented by the arched canopy under which the deceased sits.

The deceased in every instance has apparently no opponent, but seems to be playing alone. Dr. Birch¹⁴ asks, "Did the deceased, or his shade, play for his soul against any god or accuser? or did the spirits of the departed play against one another, or alone?" Prof. Wiedemann¹⁵ quotes from the stele (now in Vienna) of Ap-uat-mes, "His soul is in his grave, she plays draughts with him."

Who shall say what esoteric meaning the Egyptian priests may have attached to the game of draughts?

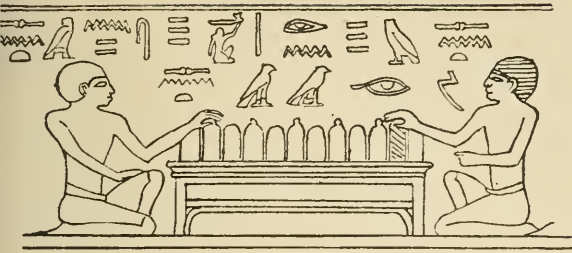
I am indebted to Prof. Petrie for allowing me to photograph his draughts-men and to reproduce his drawings in "Royal Tombs"; to Dr. Pleyte, Director of the Leyden Museum, who kindly sent me a drawing of the draughts-board there and a copy of the inscription on it; and to Mr. W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., for a great deal of assistance throughout.

¹³ Lepsius, "*Älteste Texte*," p. 26.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 266.

¹⁵ *Actes du X Con. Int. des Orient.*, 1894, IV, iv, p. 38.

PLATE V.



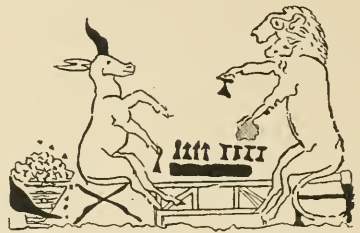
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8



THE WORD IN THE INSCRIPTION OF
AND

A NOTE ON THE MILLINGEN PAPYRUS I. 3-4.

BY ALAN H. GARDINER.

In four passages of the inscription of  a word  (with suffix  ) occurs, which has been a source of difficulty to commentators. PROF. ERMAN (*A.Z.*, XX [1882], p. 6) regarded it, though not without hesitation, as a particle equivalent to the German "*denn*" or "*also*." PROF. PIEHL (*P.S.B.A.*, XIII, pp. 562-3) preferred to treat   and  , in three of the four examples, as new forms of the "conjugation of , , "i.e., as analogous to such forms as   , etc. One grave objection to both views is, that no examples from other inscriptions can be adduced to support them. The attempt will here be made to show that in reality the word  is nothing else than the compound preposition . We will take the examples in the order of their occurrence.

(a) L. 5.*—        
        . The text then continues, "His majesty caused the   to cross (the river) . . . to bring for me this sarcophagus from Troja."

* The first sign  is a little uncertain. The  following it should not be read, as previously, . This is clear from the photograph, GRÉBAUT, *Musée Eg.*, Pl. XXVII.

way as (b). On the whole, perhaps we are justified in assuming either an ellipse of the subject , or else its erroneous omission by the sculptor.* We should then translate, "They (*i.e.*, the stela, its base, etc.) came down-stream in my hand ( ) to the Pyramid of *Merenre* in six broad-boats," etc. A similar mode of expression occurs in the letter to *Harkhuf*, which has been quoted in a footnote above. Here, however, that which "comes in the hand ( ) of" *Harkhuf*, is not a sarcophagus, but the dancing dwarf.

The expressions are:—l. 18,     

    "if he descends in thy hand into the ship":

l. 21,             

"If thou arrivest, etc., and this *Deng* is in thy hand."

(d) L. 45.—                      

Similar phrases, which render the general sense plain, occur in ll. 42, 45. The phrase   occurs, meaning "to

be done by the hand of someone," in various passages collected by PROF. ERMANN (*Lebensmüde*, p. 21). "To be done" is perhaps a better rendering for   in this expression than "happen"; cf. the

expressions    , "to put in writing," and  

   , "to be put in writing," where  acts directly as the passive of .

The example (d) should accordingly be translated, "The entirety was done by my hand according to the manner which the majesty of my lord commanded."

Thus all four examples yield a good sense if   is taken to be the preposition: we need therefore assume no different meaning for that word.

* It should be noticed that the same difficulty occurs if we translate, "I sailed down with them,"   for    is unparalleled.

NOTE ON MILLINGEN PAPYRUS, I, 3, 4.

The following passage from the Millingen papyrus has not as yet been satisfactorily explained.



MR. GRIFFITH (whose transcription [*A.Z.*, XXXIV, (1896), p. 39] I follow) translated, "Let one be armoured against his subordinates as a whole—it happens that mankind turn their hearts to him who inspires them with fear." The first clause seems to be well rendered, though I should prefer to take  as "thee" and emend  to  instead of . The second clause ends with the suffix , which is not convincingly accounted for in the above translation: "them" would rather be  or . Nor is it easy to parallel  as an auxiliary verb.

Accordingly I propose to render thus:—"Armour thyself against thy(?) subordinates, all of them—that cometh to pass, to whose terrors no thought has been given." For   , "terrors," *cf.* I, 7.  is the correct form after , *cf.* SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 1038.     is an interesting form. It must be the perfect participle passive, the only form in which the gemination has been found, *cf.* SETHE, *l.c.*, § 927, 5. The feminine is naturally employed in the sense of a neuter: the determinative , though it *may* be borrowed from the word    preceding, is not unusual after , "to be not," in the N. K. For the construction of the whole phrase, *cf.* SETHE, *l.c.*, § 1006. A similar case (also illustrating *tm*) is there quoted, namely:—            , "ways which had not been trodden by others." NAV., *D. el B.*, III, 76, 4 = D., *H.I.*, II, 14.

THE TRANSLITERATION OF EGYPTIAN.

The following letters on this subject have been received.

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF PROF. DR. KURT SETHE.

My answer to your questions is this :—

I. The affinity between the Egyptian language and the different dialects of the Semitic language can hardly be doubtful to anyone who knows the two languages well. It is proved not only by the primitive words or forms common to both of them, but by the strikingly evident general likeness of their construction, and by the two facts: (a) that the Egyptian language had only consonantal “radices,” and used the vowels only for distinguishing the different forms of words, like the Semitic (e.g., $\text{CWT}\overline{\text{EE}}$ “to hear,” $\text{COT}\overline{\text{EE}}\overline{\text{Y}}$ “to hear him,” $\text{COT}\overline{\text{EE}}$ “he is heard,” $\text{CET}\overline{\text{EE}}\text{OY}$ “he hears,” $\text{CT}\overline{\text{EE}}\text{HT}$ “obediens”; CON “brother,” CONE “sister,” CNH “brother,” CNA “two,” CNTE “two”; NPE “to come out,” “to rise,” POPE “he has come out,” $\text{P}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{P}}\text{WO}$ “splendid,” FIN “fruit,” PRW “winter” (time of growing), etc., etc.

(b) that the Egyptian script, like the Semitic, therefore, could only be used for writing consonants and not vowels. So in Egyptian the image of the human face  *hor* (Copt. E0), *hra* = (with suffixes EPA) became a sign for the consonantal combination *h* + *r* in many other words:  *her* (Copt. E1 -, i.e., $^*h\acute{e}j$) “upon,”   *hr(j)t*, “road,” $^*h\acute{r}\acute{e}j\acute{e}t$ (Copt. EIN , i.e., $h\acute{j}\acute{e}$) instead of $^*h\acute{r}\acute{e}$),   *hrj*, “the upper part,” $^*h\acute{r}\acute{a}j$ (EPAI),   *hrrt*, “flower,” $^*h\acute{r}\acute{e}r\acute{e}t$ (EPHE),   *Hr* (early writing for ), $^*H\acute{u}r$, “god Horus” (EWP , in early Greek transcriptions $\acute{\iota}\rho$, i.e., $h\acute{u}r$, in the construct form EAP).

You will see from these examples that the vowels *ö* and *ä* of the word "face" have not been respected in the application of the image as a phonetic sign. In the same way the image  is used as well in *mūn* "to remain" ( infinitive), as in *mēn* "he is remaining" ( pseudo-participle), in **emnöf* "he remains" (*śdmf*-form), in *śmīnet* "to establish" ( infinitive), in **śmōntej* "she is established" ( pseudo-participle), in **emnöḏ* "mamma" (), in *mōn'et* "nurse" (), in **hōsmen* "natron" (), in *Mōnteṛw* "god Montu" (), in **ēimūn* "god Amon" (), and in some other words which contain the consonantal group *m + n*, either following each other immediately, or separated some vowel or another. The same usage is to be followed with all the other phonetic signs of the Egyptian script.

II. That , , ,  (and the secondary.  and , which are only later surrogates for ) must be consonants, has been sufficiently shown by Steindorff in the *Ztschr. der D. Morgenl. Ges.*" (which paper Legge has quoted), and by Erman in *Ä.Z.*, 34, 51 ff. Let me shortly repeat the proofs. You have in Coptic the following forms:—

	Infinitive.		Qualitative.
Verbs of two consonants.	tōm	tōmef	tēm
	ⲧⲱⲙ	ⲧⲱⲙⲉⲓ	ⲧⲙⲉ
Verbs of three consonants.	sōtem	sōtmef	sōtem
	ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ	ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙⲉⲓ	ⲥⲱⲧⲉ
Verbs of four consonants.	sōlsel	selsōlef	selsōl
	ⲥⲟⲗⲥⲁ	ⲥⲁⲥⲱⲗⲉⲓ	ⲥⲁⲥⲱⲗ

Now you have in the same manner—

Two consonant forms. $\omega\pi$, $\omega\pi\bar{\epsilon}$, $\kappa\pi$, from   $i\bar{\epsilon}$; $\omega\lambda$

ολϙ̄, from  Δ 'r; οϙωπ, οϙοπϙ, οϙηπ, from  
 ωn; ιωc, ιηc, from   js.

Three consonant forms. ωτπ, οτπϙ̄, οτπ̄, from   
 3tp; ωπϙ, οπϙ, from   'nh; ωρκ, ορκϙ, ορκ, from
  'rk; οϙωτϙ, οϙοτϙ̄, οϙοτϙ, from  
 wd̄h.

Four consonant forms. οϙοcτπ̄, οϙεcτωπϙ, οϙεcτωπ, from    Δ wst̄n. In these verbal examples the first consonants of the above paradigms, τω̄, cωτ̄, cολ̄cλ, are replaced by the consonants, aleph (, , in ωπ, ωτπ), ajin ( in ωλ, ωπϙ, ωρκ), waw ( in οϙωπ, οϙωτϙ, οϙοcτπ̄), jod ( in ιωc). Many other examples can be added to these; you find the best ones in the papers of Erman and Steindorff. If the letters , , , which here denote consonants, should in some terminations denote vowels,—which at present there is no reason to believe—they must nevertheless, even in such cases, be regarded as consonantal signs like the Semitic aleph, waw, jod, sometimes used for the vowels *a*, *u*, *i*.

III. These facts being established, a scientific transcription of Egyptian writing must resemble that of the so-called "Berlin School," which transcribes only the sounds really written, *i.e.*, the consonants. For the general reader a system may be adopted like that proposed by Prof. Erman in *Ä.Z.*, 34, 61.

Let me remark that Steindorff in his "Baedeker" has not used, as is said in Legge's paper, the transliteration without vowels, but Chafrē, Chephren, Thutmosis, Wehebrē (Uaphris, Hophra).

GÖTTINGEN,

5th November, 1902.

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF M. G. BÉNÉDITE,

Conservateur adjoint des Antiquités égyptiennes du Louvre, etc.

Je considère la question des *transcriptions* comme *insoluble* ; jamais on ne pourra obliger une école égyptologique ou même un simple égyptologue à renoncer à son système de transcription : il faut donc laisser à chacun sa liberté jusqu'à ce qu'une doctrine s'impose par la prédominance de l'usage. Quel sera le procédé qui s'imposera dans l'avenir ? Sera cela celui de l'école de Berlin, celui de Rougé, celui de Maspero, celui de Chabas qui ne résoud pas toutes les difficultés ? Je ne sais ; mais je reconnais que le système d'Erman est en train de gagner du terrain. En attendant, je suis d'avis que les *Proceedings* adoptent l'*éclecticisme* le plus complet, et que chacun y reste libre de sa transcription. Voilà pour la méthode. Pour ce qui est de la nature de la langue égyptienne, je ne crois pas qu'elle rentre complètement dans le cadre des langues sémitiques, et je crois même que ce qui la distingue du groupe de ces langues—ou lui fait une place très à part dans ce groupe si on veut l'y faire entrer—c'est qu'elle n'a pas ignoré, comme les langues proprement sémitiques, l'usage des voyelles dans l'écriture ; mais cependant je ne vais pas jusqu'à dire que les anciens égyptiens aient eu la notion très nette du véritable rôle des voyelles comme nous le voyons dans les écritures des langues du groupe indo-européen. Mon opinion peut se résumer ainsi : *les Égyptiens avaient une langue dans laquelle les phénomènes de la vocalisation me semblent plus marqués que dans les langues proprement sémitiques, et leur écriture, susceptible d'une si grande indécision orthographique, témoigne de l'embarras où les plaça le sentiment de cette vocalisation et des efforts qu'ils ont fait pour le rendre.* Développer cette thèse m'entraînerait à tout un volume qui ne ferait probablement que *enfoncer une porte ouverte.*

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF M. ÉDOUARD MONTET, D.D.,

Doyen de l'Université de Genève.

J'ai lu avec un grand intérêt, en y apportant tout le soin qu'elle méritait, votre étude sur "The History of the Transliteration of Egyptian." Selon votre désir, je viens vous soumettre mes observations ; mais je tiens à déclarer que je n'ai pas de compétence

spéciale en égyptologie. Mon domaine est celui des langues sémitiques, que j'enseigne à l'Université de Genève, et à l'étude desquelles je me suis voué depuis de nombreuses années.

Comme système de transcription des hiéroglyphes j'ai adopté celui de Maspero, soit à cause de sa valeur en lui-même, soit par le fait qu'il correspond à la notion que je me forme de l'Égyptien par rapport aux langues sémitiques.

À mon avis, et cette opinion repose sur les recherches que j'ai faites sur cette importante question, il n'y a pas d'affinité réelle ni profonde entre l'Égyptien et aucune des langues sémitiques. Les relations qu'on a cru pouvoir établir entre ces deux classes des langues, foncièrement différentes, sont superficielles ou accidentelles. Le seul rapport étroit et réel existant entre elles concerne l'alphabet sémitique dérivé, par le phénicien, des hiéroglyphes.

Je ne suis donc pas enclin à admettre que les hiéroglyphes ne représentent que des consonnes, comme l'alphabet sémitique.

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF DR. J. H. BREASTED,

Professor of Egyptology in the University of Chicago.

In answer to the first of your three questions, in my opinion there is but one answer: an unqualified affirmative. But in support of such a reply I could only repeat the evidence already made public in the publications of the Berlin School, such as Erman's Grammars, Sethe's *Verbum*, and Steindorff's *Koptische Grammatik*. The evidence is so conclusive, that the next generation will most certainly wonder how the question could ever have been discussed at all after the publication of the evidence. It is unfortunately all, or nearly all, in the German language, and ought by all means sometime to be put into English.

Your second question concerns two classes of Egyptian forms: 1. The class admittedly without vowels. No one would maintain, e.g. that   *grg*, "lie," contains any written vowels. 2. The class containing the disputed signs  ,  ,  , and  . Now

admitting for the moment that these four signs are all vowels, what shall we say of a system of transliteration which renders three of them by "a" (a, â, ā), and the fourth by "u"? A remarkable vowel system, which contains three "a's" and one "u"! But concerning these signs I should like to ask some questions. Does any one who knows Coptic doubt that ancient Egyptian possessed and wrote the consonants "w" and "y"? If so, where are they in the older language, and how are they written in hieroglyphic? Again, can any one who has examined the numerous transliterations into hieroglyphic of Palestinian and other Semitic words, common in the XIXth dynasty, doubt for a moment that the ancient Egyptian possessed and wrote the consonants **𐀓** and **𐀔**? In view of these facts, shall we continue to transliterate the hieroglyphic **𐀓** **𐀔** "father" by the form "ât," although we know from the Coptic that it was pronounced "Yot," showing clearly that **𐀓** is "y" and **𐀔** is "t," and that the long "o" was unwritten?

Your third question is fully answered by an article by Erman in the *Zeitschrift* (XXXIV, 51-62), which sets forth clearly the whole subject brought up in your letter. This article is overlooked in your Paper in the *Proceedings*, p. 281. Two methods of transliteration are carefully discussed in Erman's article: one for the scholar and one for the general reader, both methods being given separate treatment. This article would have made it clear that the Berlin School has never advocated the use of exclusively consonantal transliteration in works intended for the general public. The instances you refer to as existing in Steindorff's *Egyptian Baedeker* are found only in the section on the language where the absence of written vowels in the hieroglyphic is explained to the traveller. No such transliterations will be found elsewhere in the book. Mr. Crum's use of unvocalised proper names in an article in a Bible dictionary, is something for which he is personally responsible: it cannot be laid at the door of the Berlin School, as any one familiar with their writings know. This brings up another statement in your Paper, viz., that the unvocalised system of transliteration is compulsory in the publications controlled by the Berlin School. I cannot imagine who can be your authority for such a statement, which should be well supported before being made, as it is calculated to produce serious prejudice; you are completely misinformed on this point; such is not and never has been the case. Anyone is at liberty to use the

old system now in use in the *Proceedings*,* or any other system of transliteration, in the *Zeitschrift*. If you find nothing else in the *Zeitschrift*, it is because its contributors themselves use the unvocalised system, as did even the veteran Brugsch before his death, after a lifetime of the old system.

No question like this can be settled by a majority, but I must refer also to the statement in your article, that you know of no scholar of other than German or English nationality who adheres to the unvocalised system. We have a number of such in America: Dr. Reisner, of the University of California, Dr. Johnston, of the Johns Hopkins University, Dr. Schmidt (Swedish), of Cornell University, Dr. Gillett, of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, Dr. Schmidt (Swedish), late Fellow of the University of Chicago, and the present writer, of the University of Chicago.

* *The system of Transliteration "in use in the Proceedings" is whatever system an author chooses to employ.*—EDITOR.

ERRATUM.

In the third foot-note to Prof. Breasted's Paper on page 300; *Recueil*, XXIV, 68 ff. should read *Recueil*, XXIV, 168 ff.

The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday, January 14th, 1903, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

T. G. PINCHES, *LL.D.*:—"Gilgameš and the Hero of the Flood
—the New Version."

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